PEN AND PARCHMENT

Drawing in the Middle Ages



Ad uulnus ruptum in stomacho & cardiace incenditur sic. Tres cocturas equales facies in pectore & duas sub mamillas & quattuor ex utraque parte stomachi in modum crucis. Erasistratus in libro de podagricis scripsit.

Yrnia incenditur sic. Circa uerenda cauterium unum in una parte & unum in altera cum cauterio rotundo. Demetrius apameus in libro signorum. Artis II quendam senem in ta passum uereti tensione ut cornu putaretur.

Elefantiosus incenditur sic. Unum cauterium in una uena de collo & unum in altera & iiii. sub pectore in fossicula anime in modum crucis & tres in una cata (?) & usque in alia & iiii sub nodis pedum cum cauterio rotundo. Zenophon. Dignissimi medicorum.

Podagricus incenditur sic.

In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. Incipit hystoria incisiones sic dicit. G. prudentissimus medicorum: uenam secundum uenam, os secundum os, lacertum secundum lacertum, neruum secundum neruum & descripsit ea secundum quod sunt & separauit unumquodque ab alio, ne forte erret inspector eorum, sed agnoscat ea ita ut uidet. Ergo prima descriptio arterie, secunda uenarum, tertia positioni ossuum, quarta neruorum, quinta lacertorum, sexta ueretri, septima stomachi, epatis & uentris, octaua matricis, nona cerebri & oculorum. In priori igitur descriptione inuenientur arterie que ueniunt per uenam epatis in duas que ascendit ad diafragma & ueniunt ad pectus & a pectore ascendit ad collum. Sed hystoria arteriarum non pulsantium est. Quarum uni diffunduntur in spondulos colli & inde deducuntur in faciem donec ueniat ad tympanum dextrum ubi colligatur & irrigat illud sic collega eius irrigat sinistrum. Inde collegarum unus per collum funditur in intimum & ueniunt in gargaleonem & in caput & in cerebrum. Et unum exiunt cuius apparet in gutture. Ex ipso procedit ramus & transit. Cursus lacerta cerebrum circumdat humum. Ex cerebro alia uena epatis que desuper & ipsa procedit alia magna uena que descendit iuxta eam usque ad diafragma sinistrum & equaliter operatur in sinistro latere sic ideo tamen procedit ex ista uena que uadit in partes cum collega sua deorsum & coniunguntur donec per plantam & sic per copaginem ueniunt ad pedes. cum de epate egrediuntur alii rami epatis & stomachi & annectuntur & sup intestina usque gr cum ueni core ueniat ad pedes omne ne pedi cerebrum ap pareant hic & nutriunt cerebrum.

Hec hystoria arteriarum que procedit ex corde & hee uene sunt que pulsant & item procedunt ab ea due magne uene. Et enim principium processioni earum est a nigro grano quod est intus in corde eius quo spiritus habitat. & inde procedit magna uena que transit in duas partes dextram & sinistram et de ipsa procedit uniuerse uene per omne corpus que pulsant. Et item ab ea uena due magne uene que ascendunt ad guttur & ueniunt ad fauces et palatum & apparent in facie & colligantur ex omni parte super utrumque tympanum & per totam frontem & iterum ascendit ad cerebrum & texunt se super illud ut rete quod rete custodit & gubernat cerebrum & uocatur anaphusa. Iterum alie due uene subtiles apparent sic & porees et ascendit in faciem & oculos & super dicte uene sunt prope capiti & procedit item arterie per omne pectus ex utraque parte & ascendit quedam ex humeris & habent ramos ex quibus alii componuntur & hic in quibus apparet uena cerebri & descendit per ipsum donec coniugatur cum collega sua. Sic hee ex corde in arterias que ueniunt in palma & de medio istarum item habentes arterie ramos in partes pectoris & palmarum decurrit & descendit uene recte super pectus & epar & splen et intestina ex utraque parte usque ad talones. secundum quod hic hystoria.

PEN AND PARCHMENT



PEN AND PARCHMENT

Drawing in the Middle Ages

MELANIE HOLCOMB

with contributions by Lisa Bessette, Barbara Drake Boehm, Evelyn M. Cohen, Kathryn Gerry, Ludovico V. Geymonat, Aden Kumler, Lawrence Nees, William Noel, Wendy A. Stein, Faith Wallis, Karl Whittington, Elizabeth Williams, and Nancy Wu

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Director's Foreword

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is fortunate to house one of the richest collections of medieval objects of art in the world as well as one of the finest assemblages of postmedieval drawings. Thus it is appropriate that we should be the first institution to organize an exhibition that resonates with works from both of these areas. *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* ponders the history and definition of drawing in the Middle Ages and, we hope, encourages audiences to expand their notions of what medieval art is and how medieval artists worked.

Drawings were a distinctive mode of expression in the Middle Ages, one integral to the creative process and highly regarded by medieval patrons. For hundreds of years before the Old Masters flourished, medieval artists explored the medium of drawing, producing spontaneous sketches, graphic treatises, and finished drawings of extraordinary refinement. If these works have scarcely been discussed in terms of their identity as drawings until now, it is in part because we know so little about that elusive figure in art history, the medieval draftsman. *Pen and Parchment* offers glimpses of the high quality and wide variety of drawings produced in the medieval West, including examples that range from masterly finished sheets to manuscripts that creatively combine painting and drawing, maps, and diagrams, as well as model books and preliminary sketches. As we study the drawings ever more closely more and more is revealed: we see centers of artistic production and, indeed, specific artistic personalities emerge and come to life.

The exhibition and publication that accompanies it were planned under the stewardship of Philippe de Montebello, Director Emeritus of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Thanks are due to Melanie Holcomb, Associate Curator, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, who conceived the exhibition and was the principal author of the catalogue. We wish to acknowledge all our lenders, both institutional and private, for their enormous generosity and sustained interest in this project. My gratitude is due to those who have supported this project financially. I express my profound appreciation to Mrs. Alexandre P. Rosenberg as well as to Michel David-Weill. In addition, the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities has granted an indemnity for this project through an exceptional program that enables us to present exhibitions that are international in scope. Publication of the catalogue was made possible through the support of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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One of the greatest pleasures in working on this exhibition has been the opportunity to develop relationships with colleagues around the globe. The exhibition would have been impossible to realize without the support and assistance of many individuals and institutions near and far, and these few words of gratitude can scarcely express the extent of my indebtedness to them all.

Many of our most generous loans have come from England, and I thank all the libraries and museums there that have generously opened their doors to me. At the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I recognize the efforts of Christopher de Hamel and Gill Cannell. At the Fitzwilliam Museum, also in Cambridge, I thank Timothy Potts, Stella Panayotova, Thryza Smith, David Scrase, Nicholas Robinson, and John Lancaster. My visits to London have confirmed my profound appreciation for the efforts of those at the British Library including Scot McKendrick, Andrea Clarke, Claire Breay, Justin Clegg, Robert Davies, and Barbara O'Connor. At the Bodleian Library, Oxford, my deepest gratitude was earned by Sarah Thomas, Martin Kauffmann, Bruce Barker-Benfield, Dana Josephson, Madeline Slaven, and James Allan. At Saint John's College, also in Oxford, I acknowledge Malcolm Hale and Catherine Hilliard. I extend my thanks as well to Arthur MacGregor of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Jonathan Harrison at the library of Saint John's College, Cambridge, among other colleagues who offered assistance in England.

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I cannot overlook the kindness of the many institutions in the United States that have sent their invaluable manuscripts to our Museum and have graciously allowed us to study their collections. I have depended on the generosity of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, and I thank especially Gary Vikan, Danielle Bennett, William Noel, and Kathryn Gerry. The last two contributed to the catalogue in addition to providing assistance at crucial moments. We have a longstanding friendship with the Manuscripts

Department at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, and I am pleased that this exhibition provided yet another opportunity to work with that institution and its fine staff. Michael Brand, Sally Hibbard, Marc Hamly, and Nancy Turner have earned my gratitude. Thomas Kren, Elizabeth Morrison, Kristen Collins, and Christine Sciacca of the Manuscript Department deserve special commendation for the many instances in which they offered me advice and assistance.

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Note to the Reader

Reproducing manuscripts in a catalogue can offer only a partial experience of books as objects. Thus the headings in the entry section of this catalogue attempt not only to describe the drawings that are the subject of our exhibition but also to give a sense of the complexity of the books that contain them. The information provided does not constitute full codicological references for each manuscript, which are often included in the listings of specialized literature accompanying the entries. Rather, these headings should serve as overviews of the manuscripts for the general reader. We include the specific place of the books' manufacture and the dating of their bindings only when they are known with reasonable certainty. Medieval books were often modified as readers added their own notes and appended copies of other texts. The dates provided thus refer to the drawings under discussion and not to any other aspects of the volume. Because all of the works are on parchment and executed in ink, we do not repeat that information in the heading. Where there is paint or gold in a drawing, these materials are discussed in the body of the entry. We have included a general description of the text of each book to convey an idea of the volume as a whole and to supply a context for the illustrative content. Our brief description of the decoration is meant to offer a sense of the nature and extent of the drawing, painting, and illumination within each manuscript.

Within the entry we indicate whenever a folio under discussion is illustrated (fol. 67, illustrated). Comparative works presented in an entry are given figure numbers that include the entry number (fig. 21.1). All illustrations in the essay have simple figure numbers (fig. 12).

References in the selected literature sections of the entries and the endnotes for the entries and the essay are abbreviated. Full citations appear in the bibliography. Libraries are increasingly digitizing their manuscripts, and in the selected literature listings we have indicated instances where the reader can page through the folios of the manuscripts in digital facsimiles or online websites. The addresses of these regularly updated sites are found in a section of the bibliography.

All translations from the Bible are from the Douay-Reims version. All other translations are by the authors unless otherwise cited in the notes. Finally, the catalogue entries are signed with initials; for the full names of these authors, see the listing of contributors above.

PEN AND PARCHMENT

balis. bene sonantibus;
laudate eum in cim
balis iubilationis om
nis sps laudet dnm.

EXPLICIT PSAL
TERIUS OCCL
TUS

HIC PSALMUS
PROPRIE SCRIP
TUS DAUID ET
EXTRA NUMERUM

...DUS EST
ET IDCIRCO
REPUDIATUS



Pusillus eram
inter fratres
meos et adu
lescentior in
domo patris mei
pascebam oves
patris mei.

Manus meae
fecerunt organu

Strokes of Genius: The Draftsman's Art in the Middle Ages

MELANIE HOLCOMB

Drawing is at once the most basic form of visual expression and an invention of a specific time and place. The mesmerizing outline drawings of bison, deer, and horses sketched on walls in the Paleolithic caves of Lascaux and elsewhere in Europe are often invoked as evidence of the timeless compulsion to make pictures, a demonstration of the long-understood efficacy of outlines to represent the world that surrounds us and a reinforcement of the notion held by anthropologists that rendering images and symbols is a fundamentally human endeavor. It is a practice both transhistorical and transcultural. No beings other than humans draw in a meaningful way. And almost every human draws. The desire to scribble comes without coaching to a two-year-old, as does the urge to draw a human figure to a child of four. To draw, it would seem, is to be human.

At the same time some might propose that drawing originated in Renaissance Italy. No one would claim that images in the form of outlines had not been preserved before that pivotal period in the history of Western art, but the artists and theorists of the Renaissance developed and defined a particular concept of drawing, one that informs our understanding of the term to this day. It was during the Renaissance that artistic process came to be revered alongside the finished product, when drawing was viewed as an area of experimentation, both in terms of technique and in the kinds of images it captured. It was at that moment that drawing came to be understood and explained as a direct expression of the artist's imagination, which itself enjoyed new validation.

Opposite: Psalm 151: David and Goliath, fol. 123v, Corbie Psalter (cat. no. 1), Corbie, France, early 9th century. Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 18C

These ideas about drawing found an influential spokesman in the sixteenth-century artist and historian Giorgio Vasari, whose *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* remains one of the most important sources of information about Italian artists of his day. Throughout his multivolume set of biographies, Vasari assesses an artist's skills according to the quality of his draftsmanship, sees evidence of future promise in an early inclination to draw, and posits drawing as the foundation for all forms of artistic endeavor. No artist better demonstrated the link between the mind's inventions and the draftsman's line than Leonardo da Vinci, the "genius" who excelled in all branches of art "in which drawing played a part."[1] Drawing was the quintessential expression of his celestial gifts; it operated, Vasari tells us, in "sublime accord with [Leonardo's] intellect and memory."[2] Vasari also stood in awe of the drawings of Michelangelo. In the *Lives* he describes a cartoon rendered by Michelangelo that had been kept in a room in the Palazzo Medici as a "school for craftsmen," an exemplar from which to copy and learn.[3] The cartoon, inadequately guarded, "was torn up and divided into many pieces . . . and scattered over various places." A lamentable destruction, it nevertheless yielded great treasures; Vasari notes that those lucky enough to possess torn pieces treated them "with great reverence, and indeed, [the drawings] seem[ed] to the eye things rather divine than human."[4] We should hardly be surprised that Vasari maintained his own collection of drawings, to which he frequently refers in his *Lives*. The visible traces of the mind at work, drawings became the holy relics of the Italian Renaissance, the revered remnants of a new kind of saint: the artist-genius.

But what did it mean to draw before the Renaissance, specifically to draw in the Middle Ages, the era often used as a mere foil for later times, the background against which

the Renaissance was and is still frequently defined? We know medieval artists drew, for where there are artists, there are draftsmen. The difficulty in our apprehending their work lies in part with the modern infatuation with the Renaissance and its lock on our understanding of the uses, techniques, and connotations of drawing. Vasari's notion of drawing arose from his era's elevation of and fascination with the individual artist; by this standard the anonymity of medieval artists denies their drawings potency as charged traces of a particular individual's hand. Medieval drawing also owes its obscurity to the fact that the Middle Ages had no Vasari. Medieval writers rarely lauded the artists and artistic techniques of their era, and their descriptions of works of art invariably emphasized material and color over line. References to drawing tend to appear obliquely in medieval texts of any sort, and artists' manuals, when they mention what we might call drawing, provide little specific or consistent vocabulary to describe the draftsman's materials and techniques.[5]

Drawings from the Middle Ages, many of them highly accomplished, do survive in abundant numbers. Their very ubiquity has perhaps made them easy to overlook. Medieval drawings look different from the drawings revered by Vasari, and they are preserved in different places. To find them, we must look not at paper but at parchment, not in drawings collections, as we define them, but in bound books in libraries. To truly see the drawings in medieval manuscripts, we must both expand and rethink our notion of what a drawing is and how it might be used. The task of uncovering and identifying examples of medieval draftsmanship provides an opportunity to reassess the very definition of drawing as it has traditionally been framed, to consider how Renaissance notions of the technique were or were not rooted in the era that preceded it, and to acknowledge the distinctive contribution of the Middle Ages in the long history of graphic arts.[6]

What follows is an effort to make visible the work of the medieval draftsman, to sort out its myriad forms and uses, and to highlight where and when drawing was especially resonant as an aesthetic choice. Medieval drawings appear in places both expected and unexpected. As in every era, drawing served as the foundation for projects intended to be completed in other media, but the best examples survive more frequently in independent, finished form, the end result of an artist's labor rather than its prelude. Rarely can we attach an artist's name to a medieval drawing, but a not insignificant number provide windows into the personal, sometimes private, concerns of known individuals. Some scholars have proposed that drawing in the Middle Ages is a poor man's painting, yet it emerges regularly in some of the most luxurious of settings.[7]

Medieval drawing does not lend itself to an easy historical narrative. Rarely can we trace a relevant series of influences, events, or personal interactions, as is possible in later periods, to explain shifts in form and function. We can instead attempt a chronological tour, an excursion through a series of moments when drawing was favored by artists and patrons, when it achieved memorable aesthetic heights, and when its unique traits were deemed appropriate for the expression of larger purposes. Were drawings more likely to appear in some contexts than others? Would medieval artists and viewers have understood drawing to be a meaningful and positive aesthetic choice? Did drawn images carry connotations that images executed in other techniques did not? The answer to all of these questions is surely yes, an answer that allows us to suggest a preliminary history of the draftsman's art in the Middle Ages based on drawing's unique capacity to signify. In tracing such a narrative, we might hope to demonstrate that drawing was appreciated and used as a distinctive mode of representation, particularly favored by turns for its symbiotic relationship with the written word, for its evocation of the antique, for its didactic clarity, and for its seeming attestation of direct observation. We must, of course, emphasize that none of these characteristics excludes the possibility that medieval artists and viewers simply may often have found a drawn image to be beautiful.

Early Drawing and the Written Word

A chronological investigation of drawing in the Middle Ages could proceed from any number of starting points. It might reasonably begin with the remnants of works from antiquity—much of it in the form of papyrus fragments—attempting to reconstruct from the meager evidence we have the state of drawing in the Greco-Roman world.[8] Then it would proceed to the handful of surviving late antique manuscript drawings, such as the elegant portrait of Agenus from an exceptionally fine sixth-century copy of the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, a surveyor's manual (fig. 1). It could also start with early trial pieces found in Ireland, such as the bits of bone from the fifth to twelfth century that are covered with artists' efforts to work out the complexities of interlace, perhaps before committing them to parchment or metalwork.[9] This sort of history could then logically move toward other preliminary sketches, highlighting their appearance on other kinds of "waste products," or reused supports, from medieval workshops.[10] Yet another history



Fig. 1. Portrait of Agenus, fol. 67v, *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum,* northern Italy, early 6th century. Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 36.23 Aug. 2°

might begin with medieval Europe itself, citing some of the rudimentary figural drawings of the eighth century: the Old Testament King David from a Northumbrian Commentary on the psalms from the second quarter of the century (Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.II. 30, f. 169v),[11] whose austerity is a counterpoint to the teeming intricacy of the interlace frame, or the sgraffitolike drawings that adorn a mid-eighth-century Merovingian French copy of the Chronicle of Fredegarius (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 10910).[12]

A history of drawing that focuses on its status as a distinctive and meaningful artistic choice best begins with two psalters from the Carolingian era—that is, the first half of the ninth century, when Charlemagne and his descendants reigned over lands noteworthy for their wealth, relative stability, and patronage of book arts. These two illustrated collections of psalms, the Corbie Psalter (cat. no. 1) and the Utrecht Psalter, are neither the only nor the earliest examples of drawings from that era, yet both are distinctive landmarks in the history of drawing as well as in the art of manuscript illumination. Both are from the hands of innovative draftsmen of exceptional talent, and both speak to the early successful alliance of drawing with the written word.

Perhaps the first great draftsmen of the Middle Ages were the anonymous artists, working about the year 800, who were responsible for the Corbie Psalter. Likely produced in the scriptorium at the monastery of Corbie, in Picardy, France, this psalter confines its decoration to the initials that begin the first word of each psalm and canticle. Over the centuries the book has suffered some damage and loss, but it still displays 156 initials, every one notable for its inventiveness and spirited form. Some combination of green, yellow, pink, and blue paint adorns most of the initials up to folio 107v. Were it not for the considerable diminution of color that begins on that page and continues until the end, we might be less attuned to the significance of the role of drawing in the creation and conceptualization of the initials.

Careful examination of the manuscript reveals the place of the decoration in the execution of the page. The copying of the texts of the psalms and the drawings for the initials were clearly carried out in concert with each other, probably by the same person (though two artist-scribes were likely responsible for the whole manuscript[13]). The draftsman/scribe responsible for a page proceeded down each column, drawing the initial first and then copying the text of the psalm it accompanies. Occasionally, as in folio 123v (frontispiece), the script runs over the drawing, but usually the letters interact felicitously with it. Even on that page, many lines of text adjust to the contours of the drawn initial, and individual letters move into and against portions of the image. On folio 108r (fig. 2) the paw of one of the intertwined hounds perches delicately and precisely on the double humps of the letter *m*, while on folio 81 (cat. no. 1, illustrated) the descender of a hook-shaped *s* merges into the outer arc of the horn blown by the figure below. The color in the first two-thirds of the manuscript was added after the drawings were completed, and it plays an inconsistent role in the volume's overall aesthetic. In some initials the green, yellow, pink, and blue paint obscures the preliminary drawing, and discernible strokes of paint give texture to drapery, fins, and feathers. In other initials a color wash simply fills in the areas delineated by the ink-drawn lines, leaving the contours visible. Though the artist-scribes clearly developed their conception of each drawn initial in the course of copying the text, nothing suggests that painted color concerned them until after the outlines were completed. Writing and drawing were a coordinated phase in their working procedure; color, a separate step entirely, provided decorative frill.



Fig. 2. Psalm 123, fol. 108r, Corbie Psalter (cat. no. 1), Corbie, France, early 9th century. Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 18C

Some of the initials in the Corbie, made up of zoomorphic elements or exuberant interlace patterns or both, might be characterized as ornamental. Conforming to an aesthetic principle that one noted scholar has aptly termed "kaleidoscopic metamorphosis," the components of such letters seem to transform themselves before our eyes.[14] The tail of one creature turns into the mouth of another, which itself turns into a plant motif or bit of decorative ornament, all elaborately contorted to produce the silhouette of a letter. Even more intriguing than these lively shape-shifters are initials that incorporate human figures. These take several forms. In some the letter serves as a frame for the figure. In others the figure, positioned either inside or outside the letter, interacts with it. In still others the figures, often by means of acrobatic arrangements of their bodies, become the letters.

The last type is exemplified by the letter *N* that begins the Canticle of Simeon, the words sung by Simeon when he saw the infant Jesus the first time, upon the child's presentation by his mother, Mary, at the Temple in Jerusalem (fig. 3). While many of the figures in the Corbie Psalter initials respond to the text they accompany, this one, like others from the canticle portion of the manuscript, helps situate the hymn within the biblical narrative from which it is taken—in this instance, the infancy stories from the Gospel of Luke (2:29–32). The three principals of the story make up the letter: Mary and Simeon form the vertical strokes of the *N*, while the child Jesus sits on its diagonal. Here, as is typical throughout the psalter, the artist relies on heavy lines to mark the outer contours of the decorated letter, with thinner secondary lines used to indicate interior patterns and texture. Corbie figures almost always possess outsize hands, which frequently express the emotional tenor of the scene in concentrated form. In this letter the hands signal the poignant intimacy of the meeting in the temple. Mary's and Simeon's hands are brought together to support the Christ child and almost touch; Jesus in turn extends both his hands toward Simeon, who gently inclines his head to accept Christ's touch. The child's fingertips graze Simeon's mouth, as if ready to receive the song that will issue from his lips, the very hymn the decorated letter introduces.

The aesthetic principle guiding almost any illuminated book involves the intricate interplay of text and image, but the canticle initials embody an exceptionally intimate relationship among words, pictures, and the evocation of sound. In her subtle analysis of the Corbie figural initials, Lisa Bessette has discussed how the illustrations to the canticles "connect the songs with a particular voice," and in so doing "remind the reader that the written words are relics of the spoken and living word."[15] Certainly, the Canticle of Simeon's initial conforms to her assessment. The figures themselves at once form the text and seem to speak it, calling to mind the daily recitation of the psalms required of a monk. Bessette argues that the figural initials consistently represent the monastic reader's engagement with the psalms, providing a model of reading, prayer, recitation, and meditation. They thus convey the reader's relationship to the text even as they constitute that text. In this complex interplay, it is almost impossible to disentangle text from image, to speak of drawing and writing as discrete enterprises. The drawing seems to arise from the writing, and the words seem to arise from the images.

Whereas the draftsmanship of the Corbie Psalter emerges almost accidentally as a result of its incomplete



Fig. 3. *N*, from Canticle of Simeon, fol. 137r, Corbie Psalter (cat. no. 1), Corbie, France, early 9th century. Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 18C

state, that of the Utrecht Psalter is strikingly manifest throughout. A total of one hundred sixty-six ink drawings adorn this volume, one of the masterworks of medieval manuscript decoration.[16] The pages are endowed with a palpable dynamism created by a restless line that seems to vibrate with excitement and by sprawling compositions brimming with commotion. The psalter's notable style enhances its fascinating program of psalm illustration, one that assigns a picture to every psalm and canticle, with each illustration encapsulating in visual form the wide-ranging verbal imagery of the psalm it precedes. Nearly every verse of a psalm occasions some form of pictorial representation, and each verse-image finds its place within an all-encompassing mountainous setting.

The glorious illustration of Psalm 11 (fig. 4) exemplifies the approach, sometimes described as literal illustration. The plaintive psalmist stands atop a rocky outcrop, arms outstretched and scroll in hand. He exhibits the characteristic silhouette of Utrecht figures: a broad rounded back, slender body, insubstantial legs and feet, and head stretched forward to express the urgency of his pleas. He appears within a three-tiered landscape inhabited by other humans, angels, and God himself, who is remarkably unencumbered by the mandorla that signifies his divinity. At the top of the page, God steps resolutely out of his oval frame to begin a chain of gestures that concludes with an angel's forceful jab of God's staff into the mouth of an armed man. "By reason of the misery of the needy and the groans of the poor, now



Fig. 4. Psalm 11, fol. 6v, Utrecht Psalter, Reims, 830. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, MS 32



Fig. 5. Saint Matthew, fol. 18v, Ebbo Gospels, Hautvillers Abbey, near Reims, ca. 816–30. Bibliothèque Municipale, Épernay, MS 1

will I arise, saith the Lord" (Psalm 11:6), and arise he does, from the orb on which he traditionally sits to tend to the needy and the poor, the cluster of sad and stooped figures on the knolls just below him. At the same time, he sees to it that the angel he commands fulfills the psalmist's wish for him to "destroy all deceitful lips" (Psalm 11:4). A silversmith at a forge to the left of the psalmist reminds us in visual terms of what the psalms tell us, that the words of the Lord are pure "as silver tried by the fire" (Psalm 11:7), while the two groups of figures futilely turning in circles convey the psalm's promise that "the wicked walk round about" (Psalms 11:9). The image, characteristically teeming with clusters of agitated figures set within a volatile, capacious landscape, is at once a pictorial expression of the peripatetic thoughts of an inspired poet and an artful assertion of the cohesion of those thoughts.

The Suitability of Drawn Illustration

It is challenging to work out the circumstances that made possible the production of a work as extraordinary as the Utrecht Psalter. We do not know who commissioned it, or for whom or for what purpose. Its impressive dimensions, careful and consistent layout, impeccably penned script, and abundance of skillfully executed illustrations suggest that it was created for an important person on an important occasion, but more specific details remain within the realm of speculation. Utrecht's dates are subject to argument, as is the organization of the scriptorium that produced it. Scholars have long considered it the chef d'oeuvre of a scriptorium at the monastery of Hautvillers in Épernay, just south of Reims. This localization is based on stylistic and iconographic similarities to the Ebbo Gospels (fig. 5), a deluxe manuscript with painted miniatures. Experts have related other manuscripts to the Utrecht Psalter and the Ebbo Gospels on the basis of shared features, in an effort to construct a picture of book production in the Reims region during the ninth century.[17] Little evidence survives, however, and the so-called Reims school remains difficult to characterize as an entity or stylistic category. Art historians generally associate Reims with an energetic, impressionistic style that informs the few manuscripts comfortably placed there, but whether the Utrecht Psalter originated this style or whether it represents the culmination of an existing house style provides material for debate.

The status of the Utrecht Psalter as a luxury manuscript executed entirely in line drawings is what interests us here, particularly given that the Ebbo Gospels and the manuscripts associated most closely with these two volumes are primarily linear in form but fully painted.[18] Koert van der Horst has provocatively, and plausibly, hypothesized that Utrecht was supposed to be painted but never was.[19] He notes that many of the illustrations seem to have been produced in a three-stage process, which began with contour drawings done in a thin ink and drypoint, continued with a fuller rendition executed in a faint diluted ink, and concluded with a retracing in the darker, definitive ink lines seen in most of the pictures.[20] The third stage, he proposes, was a make-do alternative when unknown circumstances made it impossible to complete the manuscript according to the original plan, which was to add painted embellishment. Van der Horst rightly notes that painted illuminations were the signal feature of luxury manuscripts in the early Middle Ages, a point reinforced by other Reims works.

An expensive religious book had to conform to a certain standard of decorum. Even if an illustrated book in hindsight proved to have had a revolutionary impact on subsequent works of art, as Utrecht seemed to, little in medieval art suggests that patrons and artists sought to be radical in their approach to decoration. Even if Carolingian and specifically Reims manuscript illumination provides no real precedent for Utrecht's abundant drawn illustrations, the

decision to "finish" the book as a series of drawings had to be grounded in a medieval sense of what was acceptable and appropriate.

The desire to give the psalter an antique patina may have permitted an extensive program of drawn illustrations. Scholars have long pointed out Utrecht's debt to the works of antiquity and the many choices made to give the volume an appearance *à l'antique*.[21] Utrecht displays, for instance, several types of script, all with origins in classical and late antique texts. While numerous Carolingian manuscripts, particularly luxury examples, use these scripts for headings or for short passages of text, hardly any employ the kind known as rustic capitals for the entire main text as Utrecht does. They tend to rely on the more easily written and up-to-date caroline minuscule admired by ninth-century readers. In fact, rustic capitals had not served as the main script for texts, particularly Christian ones, since the sixth century. The use of three columns on a single page, while not uncommon in the ninth century, may have been adopted in Utrecht specifically to reinforce the antique look of the manuscript. Many observers have noted the abundance in Utrecht of motifs derived from antiquity; others have remarked that the format of the illustrations, which sets small figures within sprawling landscapes, recalls the bird's-eye views of numerous Greco-Roman wall paintings.[22] The overall appearance of the Utrecht Psalter may indeed have arisen as an expression of deliberate antiquarianism, but it is not clear that its makers or patrons understood that line drawings contributed to that aesthetic.



Fig. 6. Eridanus, fol. 10v, Astronomical Compilation of Arateus, northern France, possibly Reims, 9th century. British Library, London, Harley 647

Van der Horst assumes that the Utrecht artists looked to full-color manuscripts when they designed the Psalter, but perhaps other models were equally important. Most of the few illustrated late antique manuscripts that survive today are fully painted, but it seems clear that Carolingian artists had access to earlier finished manuscripts that were entirely drawn.[23] The late antique prototypes of the plays of the Roman writer Terence no longer survive, but numerous medieval manuscript copies do, and they regularly feature line drawings (see cat. no. 15). We assume that these works continue a tradition of drawn illustration derived from the lost earlier versions. Many of the medieval copies of works by the late antique author Prudentius (see cat. no. 14), as well as many medieval examples of the classical astrological poem known as the *Aratea* (see cat. no. 13), also rely on drawings for their illustrations, suggesting that earlier versions likely contained drawings as well. Painted manuscripts of Terence, Prudentius, and the *Aratea* certainly exist from the Middle Ages, but the more frequent and persistent choice of drawn decoration for these volumes implies that



Fig. 7. Act 1, Scene 1: Simo and Sosia, fol. 4v, Vatican Terence, ca. 840. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 3868

medieval patrons and artists sought, in new copies, to maintain a tradition of line drawing, perhaps because a graphic style best conveyed their antique pedigree.[24]

The creators of Utrecht may also have retained their program of drawn illustration with a particular style of painting in mind, which also carried connotations of the antique manner. A ninth-century version of the *Aratea,* from the British Library known as Harley 647 (fig. 6) and another of the Terence *Comedies* from the Vatican Library (fig. 7) are both fully painted, using a distinctive monochrome palette with highlights in cool shades of blue and touches of brown.[25] Carolingian and later artists clearly understood the distinctive aesthetic of these painted volumes, among the earliest surviving examples of their respective genres, as somehow akin to line drawing. Other ninth-century illustrated versions of these texts, as we have seen, are drawn, and later artists using Harley 647 as a model reinterpreted its painted figures as drawings.[26] Without their exemplars at hand, we cannot know whether the particular pattern of coloration in Harley 647 and the Vatican Terence appeared in earlier renditions. Perhaps they represent a ninth-century effort to make a copy that was more luxurious than the original of a manuscript almost always illustrated with drawings. Whatever the makers' motivations, they suggest the appeal of a monochrome aesthetic, whether achieved by a reduced palette of paint or ink-drawn line, and a particular sense of its appropriateness for works of antiquity.

Other works, to be sure, seem to have been deliberately intended for illustration with drawings alone. They include a marvelous grammar book, decorated by one of the Corbie artists.[27] It is possible, even likely, that many manuscripts from the early Middle Ages that were decorated exclusively with drawings have not survived, since later owners may have deemed them unworthy of keeping. We imagine them to be workaday books, however, rather than lofty liturgical or ceremonial volumes. We must also acknowledge that medieval owners of books seem to have felt more at ease with volumes left in an unfinished state than we moderns might. The sheer number of surviving medieval manuscripts that remain unfinished confirms that they must not have found it objectionable (if not ideal) to cut short a costly and time-consuming process. Because the text was generally written first and therefore likely to be complete even if the illustrations were not, the books remained useful if less handsome. Though unfinished volumes in time might receive an application of paint, medieval book owners did not always feel compelled to provide such embellishment, as the Corbie Psalter demonstrates.

It is also possible that the patron of the Utrecht Psalter determined, apart from the pressure of deadlines or financial constraints, that drawn images were eminently suited to the particular kind of partnership with the written word espoused by the book. Both Corbie and Utrecht insist upon the fruitful blurring of the boundaries of activities that we moderns perceive as distinct: writing and illustrating, reading and seeing.[28] The books operate under the assumption that word and pictures function concomitantly and conjointly, that is, alongside each other and through each other. Images guide the reading of the text, while the text illuminates the viewing of the images. As such, images are integral to the structure of the book and to the experience of reading. Both books employ pictures as organizational tools within the manuscript, clarifying where each psalm begins. The images in both books invite meditation on the material presence of the text, with a focus on individual letters in the Corbie and on the literal meaning of words in the Utrecht. Finally, both books use pictures to enhance the text's spiritual meaning, assisting the reader in his interpretation of the sacred word. Certainly, painted images could perform these same functions, but ink drawing, by its nature close to writing, reinforces the intimate relationship between the two disciplines. Utrecht's disavowal of color, its almost exclusive reliance upon brown ink to convey the language of the psalms in both words and pictures, makes plain the close connection between reading and seeing and does so with efficacy and beauty.

Whatever the reason for its adoption of drawing for its illustrations, Utrecht clearly met with enormous success. It seems to have inspired a wide range of drawn manuscripts executed in the rough-edged sketchy style associated with Reims (see cat. no. 3). Numerous examples reveal that the Reims/Utrecht style of monochrome manuscripts had an impact on Continental book production almost immediately upon its completion (see cat. no. 2). Not every drawn manuscript that postdates Utrecht owes its technique to the famous psalter, but many do; works from northeastern France to the Lake Constance region in Switzerland bear witness to the proliferation of the Utrecht aesthetic (see cat. nos. 4, 5). The mechanism of this proliferation, however, remains elusive. Scholars for the most part agree that eight artists working in marvelous synchrony produced the psalter. Lawrence Nees has recently proposed that these artists might have come to Reims from other regions in France specifically to produce this special commission.[29] Though his suggestion undermines the generally accepted idea that a group of prolific, stylistically cohesive scriptoria existed in the Reims region, Nees's theory provides a credible explanation for

the speedy dispersal of the Utrecht aesthetic. His suggestion does not discount the role that the book itself played in its success beyond Reims. Books traveled, as Utrecht most certainly did. Its journey to England engendered an illustrious chapter in the history of drawing.

Anglo-Saxons and the Taste for Drawing

Though we do not know who transported it or its precise route, evidence abounds that the Utrecht Psalter had made its way to England by the year 1000. Echoes of its most striking stylistic traits—the kinetic line, the agitated figures, and exuberant drapery—began to appear in the works of Anglo-Saxon artists about that time. Specific, often unusual, iconographic motifs from the psalter turn up in new contexts, in genres of books other than psalters, suggesting that artists of all stripes pored over its hundreds of vignettes, mining them for inspiration. Outline drawing assumes new importance in English books of all sorts, becoming a significant vehicle for artistic experimentation and a desirable decorative element in luxury books.[30] It is no exaggeration to say that the Utrecht Psalter transformed the aesthetics of Anglo-Saxon book illumination, and that it helped launch a centuries-long commitment to the technique of drawing on the part of English manuscript artists. It is also fair to remark that Utrecht's distinctive graphic approach to pictorial decoration likely fell on fertile ground.

The figure of Christ added to Saint Dunstan's Classbook (cat. no. 7) is the earliest full-page outline drawing to survive in an English manuscript, one of a number of examples of an early appreciation of drawing. Its execution predates the arrival of the Utrecht Psalter in England by at least twenty years. Its style and presentation have little in common with the features of the Utrecht Psalter. Indeed, the substantial and impassive Christ could not offer a more dramatic contrast to the small, anxious characters that people the psalter's churning landscapes. The Dunstan drawing is a devotional image, conspicuously reverential in tone. It is also strikingly personal, assuming and encouraging a close relationship between Christ and the viewer. The emphasis on the volumes of Christ's body has the effect of pushing him forward toward the viewer, as does the curious wavy line at the bottom of the page. This slightly undulating line cuts off Christ's feet, to make him seem nearer to the viewer than he would if he stood on a groundline, feet exposed, at a distance sufficient to observe him from head to toe. The addition of the prostrate monk at Christ's feet with whom the viewer can identify enhances the sense of intimacy.

The aim of the drawing in the Classbook is a modest one. It adorns a humble text, a miscellany of useful works—grammatical, computistical, exegetical, and liturgical—gathered together for a monk. It centers on the aspiration of monks to treat all study as a form of devotion to God. Because it was added as a frontispiece after a number of the texts were already written and compiled, it also records the ownership of the book as well as a thoughtful engagement with its content by at least one reader. We have much evidence to suggest that that reader was Saint Dunstan (909–988), who likely owned the book while he was abbot at Glastonbury (940–56) and saw to the addition of the drawing during that time. Annotations throughout the book appear in what is probably his handwriting. He may have drawn Christ himself, as tradition holds, or he may have commissioned the picture from another artist, perhaps providing an inscribed prayer and a portrait of himself in the image of the monk. Adding a drawing to the manuscript in this instance was a highly personal endeavor: a way to insert himself in the book as well as a way to frame his encounter with the text, creating a private reminder of how to approach the act of reading. Other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts also feature drawings added by their owners, some early examples of which are perhaps connected to Dunstan (see cat. no. 8). Some, executed after Dunstan's death, indicate that the practice continued to be meaningful to Anglo-Saxon book owners (see cat. nos. 8, 11).

Dunstan was a leader of monastic reform, an ally of kings, holder of the highest position in the English church, and one of the most powerful men of his day. We have good reason to believe he had a particular interest in art and had artistic abilities, especially in the realm of drawing. His biographer reports that he "cultivated the art of writing . . . and likewise skill in *pingendi*," a vague word that could mean painting or drawing.[31] Another account, recorded shortly after Dunstan's death, tells how he was asked by a noble matron to prepare underdrawings for her on a stole that would be embroidered with gold thread and embellished with gems.[32] John Higgitt has argued that Glastonbury under Dunstan's abbacy was likely an important center of book production. Though little survives that can be firmly localized there, Higgitt suggests that its scriptorium, even after Dunstan departed for Canterbury, may have continued as an influential center of book decoration with a particular preference for line drawing.[33] That Dunstan would bring an appreciation for line drawing with him to Canterbury, when he became abbot and archbishop there in 960, seems entirely plausible.



Fig. 8. Psalm 8, fol. 4v, Utrecht Psalter, Reims, 830. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, Ms. 32



Fig. 9. Psalm 8, fol. 4v, Harley Psalter (cat. no. 12), England, probably Canterbury, ca. 1010–1100. British Library, London, MS Harley 603



Fig. 8, detail

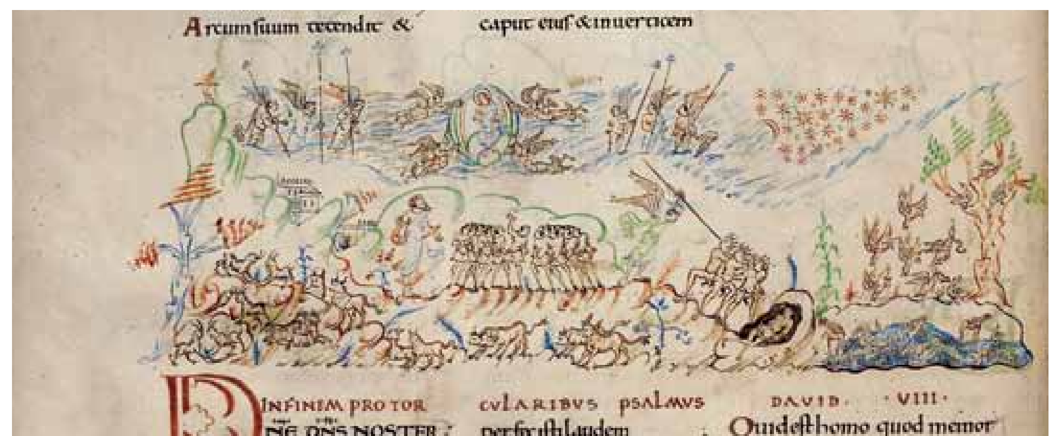


Fig. 9, detail

The Utrecht Psalter surely arrived in Canterbury by the early eleventh century, soon after it came to England and probably after Dunstan's death. It may well have taken a circuitous route. Certain idiosyncrasies in the iconography of a richly painted benedictional made at Winchester (British Library, London, Add. 49598) reveal parallels with features in the psalter, suggesting that it may have sojourned there starting as early as the 970s.[34] The book may also have been at Glastonbury at some point.[35] It is at Canterbury, however, that a dramatic and long-lasting appreciation for the Carolingian work emerged. Three psalters from Canterbury survive that pay homage to the celebrated manuscript. Made between approximately 1000 and 1200, probably at Christ Church, these so-called copies of Utrecht all looked to the earlier manuscript as an inspiration for their programs of illustration.[36]

A comparison of the Harley Psalter, the earliest of the three, to the Utrecht Psalter tells us as much about the impact of the exemplar on English manuscripts as it does about the talents and sensibilities of English manuscript artists (figs. 8, 9). Harley retains Utrecht's stately *mise-en-page*, with three columns of text punctuated by an illustration that spreads across the page used to introduce each psalm. Harley, however, largely rejects Utrecht's Gallican translation of the psalms in archaizing rustic capitals, in favor of the Roman translation written in the more up-to-date and compact caroline minuscule. Utrecht's appeal for Harley's patron was clearly based on its approach to the illustration of psalms, in terms of both content and form. Harley embraces Utrecht's emphasis on the literal meanings of the psalms' poetic language: the illustration for Psalm 8, for example, borrows almost every motif from Utrecht. Harley also adopts Utrecht's distinctive manner of presenting those motifs, emulating its dynamic compositions and especially its energetic line. It is worth emphasizing that Harley is a drawn manuscript, albeit one that uses colored inks. Manuscripts from other English centers such as Winchester looked to Utrecht for particular motifs and a sense of internally generated energy, but their forms are usually fully painted. Like the second copy, the Eadwine Psalter (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.17.1),[37] Harley adopts Utrecht's practice of using drawings exclusively but seeks to improve upon the prototype by making its script and illustrations conform to contemporary tastes. The third Utrecht copy, the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 8846), begun at the end of the twelfth century, retains the same emphasis on literal illustration but features a thick application of paint and gold.[38]

Psalm 8 is a song of praise that extols the majesty of the Lord through a recitation of his handiwork, which is presented as a magnificent hierarchy that extends from the heavens, moon, and stars to the "beasts of the fields . . . birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea." Such imagery, which exalts the immensity of the Lord's dominion, is perfectly captured in Utrecht's aesthetic, which relies upon a grand landscape to unify the myriad images set out in the psalm's text (fig. 8, detail). The uniformity of Utrecht's brushy and indistinct line contributes to the psalter's cohesion, as does its presentation of an overall view rather than a focus on specific elements. What a contrast to Harley (fig. 9, detail), where every effort is made to precisely delineate the various parts of the composition, to give attention to small details, and to show with clarity the reactions and expressions registered on individual faces. William Noel and others have remarked upon the extraordinary specificity of the birds in this image.[39] The fish, nothing more than calligraphic marks in Utrecht, in Harley possess fins and gills. While Utrecht sweeps the viewer up into the whirlwind of excitement that it captures, Harley pulls him in, asking him to look carefully, to enjoy the minutiae, to identify with the human participants in the landscape. The presence of color, perhaps Harley's most obvious point of departure from the monochromatic Utrecht, enhances the legibility of the illustration. Color separates the heavens from the mountains, the mountains from the lowlands. It isolates the moon and stars within the heavens that surround them, God from the angels who attend him. Harley's artists, like the English draftsmen who followed over the centuries, take up the art of line with great skill and ingenuity but they do not do so at the expense of color. Indeed, one of the great contributions of Anglo-Saxon manuscript artists is the successful marriage of line and color.[40]

Utrecht's ninety-two folios of drawings ignited the imaginations of English artists, encouraging them to find uses for its innovative iconography and to emulate its irresistible dynamism. Accomplished drawing had already appeared in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts before the Utrecht Psalter arrived in England; yet Utrecht's most important contribution may be that it seemed to grant artists permission to include line drawing in their repertories for use in the most exalted works. Utrecht's particular splendor, based on draftsmanship of astonishing skill, demonstrated how refined an art form drawing could be and may have encouraged English artists to incorporate drawing in the arsenal of techniques they used for luxury books. Drawings could thus assume a respectable place alongside images made with costly materials such as paint and gold.

Some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the Harley Psalter among them, are decorated exclusively with drawings that

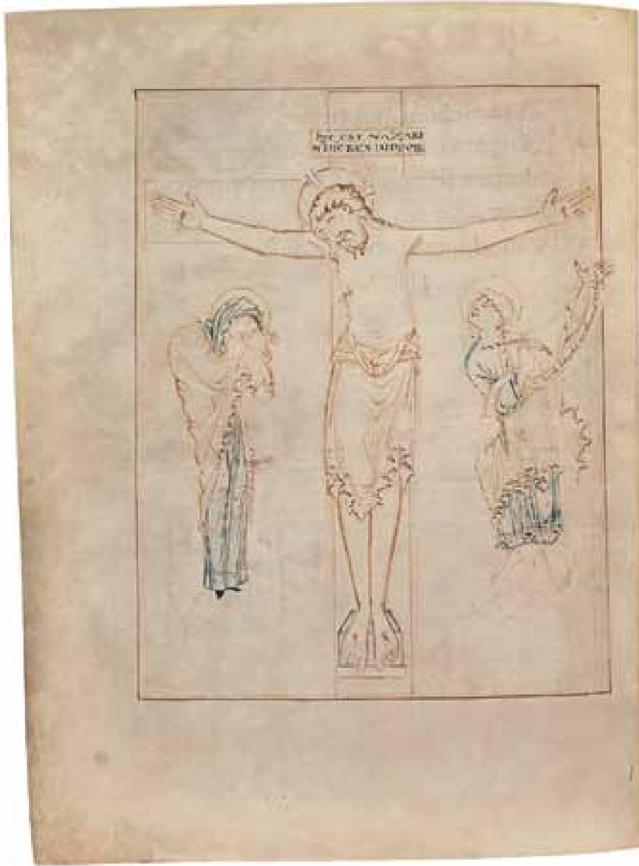




Fig. 10. Crucifixion (full page) and letter *B* (cropped), fols. 3v–4r, Ramsey Psalter, late 10th century. British Library, London, Harley 2904

are usually made of colored outlines. A significant few, however, make judicious use of drawing together with painted or gilded decoration. In so doing they take advantage of the many different meanings and aesthetic effects that can be conveyed with a variety of materials and techniques. Harley 2904, sometimes known as the Ramsey Psalter, which successfully combines drawing, painting, and gilding to achieve extraordinary results, is one such work.

The Ramsey Psalter was likely completed in the last quarter of the tenth century, thus predating the Harley Psalter by several decades.[41] Sometimes linked to Ramsey Abbey because of the saints mentioned in its litany, sometimes associated with Winchester on the evidence of its script and the decoration of its initials, the Ramsey Psalter leaves no doubts concerning its luxury status. Its decoration consists primarily of exceptionally fine initials, which are gilded and splendidly painted. Its first decorated letter, on folio 4r—the *B* of the first word, *Beatus*, of the first psalm—is its most resplendent, with gold leaf used to establish its contours, to highlight the initial's dense interlace, and to frame its lush patterns, painted in exquisite shades of pink, blue, green, and yellow (fig. 10). The verse continues on the page with an elegant succession of gold capitals.

Preceding the *B*, on the page opposite it, appears a drawing of Christ crucified with the Virgin and John to either side, its spareness and gentle coloration a striking counterpoint to the sumptuous text page (fig. 10). The drawing, surely one of the loveliest in any Anglo-Saxon manuscript, speaks of an artist who has assimilated the technical lessons of the Utrecht Psalter and ultimately redirected them. As T. A. Heslop has pointed out, this artist has mastered the properties of his pen, varying the width and quality of his line by shifting gracefully from the edge of the nib to its face and back again.[42] He conveys the solidity, even majesty, of Christ's body by means of a firm, heavy contour tracing his arms and legs, while suggesting his vulnerability through the gentle curve of his torso, rendered with a line so delicate that it seems on the verge of fading away. He has borrowed Utrecht's figural proportions, depicting the Virgin as if she were a heavy flower supported by a slender stem. Her rounded back and broad upper body quickly narrow to a pair of attenuated legs and diminutive feet. He has also borrowed Utrecht's agitated drapery, the product of a scintillating line that travels in fits and starts along the mantle's edge. His debt to the earlier manuscript notwithstanding, he shows the Virgin's pathos, not the restlessness we see in

the Utrecht figures. The Virgin's stooped shoulders suggest the burden of her pain, not the potential energy of conversational exchange. The quiet power of her sorrow is expressed in her tight clutching of her agitated cloak.

The Ramsey Psalter is extraordinary in part because it embraces the most innovative currents in manuscript illumination of its day and does so with exceptional mastery. Its initials represent a high point in the style of painted ornamentation associated with Winchester; its single drawing is a near flawless example of the colored outline technique that would come to be a feature of much Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination, particularly that associated with Canterbury. It captures within its covers the particular materials, styles, and techniques that must have enthralled Anglo-Saxon patrons of the late tenth century. But to characterize the book as simply a virtuoso presentation of the most up-to-date aesthetic trends would diminish its stature by ignoring the intelligence that informs the selection and use of contrasting stylistic modes.

Ramsey's sumptuous initials follow the longstanding practice within Christian book production of decorating significant letters. Ornamented initials help to organize the text visually, announcing its beginning and bringing attention to significant divisions within its body. They also underscore the holiness of the text, rendering the majesty of God's word visible by means of their beauty. Its Crucifixion drawing, however, springs from the tradition of interpretative commentary. The psalms were composed before the birth of Christ; thus they make no explicit mention of Christ on the cross, Mary, and John. Christian doctrine, however, interprets the psalms as prophecy, as poems that speak metaphorically of Jesus well before his incarnation. The use of an image of the crucified Jesus to introduce this book of psalms is thus entirely appropriate. The Crucifixion image preceding the first psalm makes explicit the presumed Christian content of all the psalms. It establishes the proper mode of interpretation at the very beginning of the book, with a single, finely drawn statement. The oft-used commentaries on the psalms by such authorities as Saint Augustine of Hippo and Cassiodorus explain how the psalms imply a Christian God. So too do many of the pictures in the Corbie and Utrecht Psalters, where we find numerous allusions to Christ and the cross. The Ramsey Psalter does not possess as many illustrations as those early psalters, but it compresses this message into the single image that serves as its frontispiece: its one drawing takes on the functions of many. This reminds us of the developing practice in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria of using drawn frontispieces, the earliest example of which may be the image in Dunstan's Classbook. Ramsey's juxtaposition of the techniques of painting and drawing, as embodied in its initial *B* and its frontispiece, in a single opening neatly differentiates between God's word and commentary on God's word, both worthy of artistry of the highest quality.

By the early eleventh century, artists in Canterbury wielded the pen as effectively as they handled the brush and the burnishing tool. In works such as the Arenberg Gospels (cat. no. 9) they readily combined drawing with gold leaf and often applied translucent washes that suggest the coloristic effects of opaque paint without obscuring the draftsman's line. The scintillating line, luminous color, and the outright glitter of gold leaf used together yield a work of pure luxury, perfectly attuned to the tastes of the moment and therefore ideally suitable as a gift; it may indeed have been an opulent present for a fortunate individual.

Another work associated with Canterbury that exploits the potential of different materials and techniques to embody different significations is also a psalter. This volume is associated with one of the leading scribes of Christ



Fig. 11. The monks present their book to Saint Benedict, fol. 133r, Eadui Psalter, Christ Church, Canterbury, 1012–23. British Library, London, Arundel 155

Church, Eadui Basan, whose hand is one of several discernable in the Harley Psalter. Dated to 1012–23, the Eadui Psalter (fig. 11) is a veritable sampler of techniques and decorative modes.[43] It includes several computistical tables and two figural drawings, one in black outline and another in colored outline, as well as numerous ornamented initials and a magnificent painted historiated initial. Gold is used throughout. The manuscript's most compelling image appears well into the book, on folio 133r, as the preface to the monastic canticles. Saint Benedict, the father of Western monasticism, is shown on the left side of a double arcade, which is itself framed by a golden arch. Benedict, wearing a gold cope over a lavender robe studded with gold quatrefoils, faces emphatically forward. A monk, in a pose that reminds us of Dunstan in the Classbook, holds a gold-covered book and lies prostrate, beneath the saint's shod feet. On the right side a cluster of monks stands at a respectful distance from the saint. One holds an open book inscribed with the first words of the Benedictine Rule, toward which Benedict gestures; another holds a gilded vessel and another, a closed book with a deluxe binding. The hand of God emerges from the heavens in the lunette above the scene.

Scholars have often noted that this image exemplifies the Anglo-Saxon use of drawing and painting in a single image as a means to represent hierarchical relationships.[44] According to this reading, the sketchy quality of the portraits of the anonymous monks conveys their inferior status in comparison to the fully painted and copiously gilded image of Benedict. To a certain extent this interpretation rings true, but to confine the meaning of the combining of techniques to a mere display of hierarchy simplifies the vastly more complicated aesthetic aims of this image. A simple sepia line, after all, delineates the hand of God, who surely stands at the pinnacle of any Christian hierarchy, while the prostrate monk, who wears a garb of humility, according to the inscription on his belt, is rendered in full color. The distinction between painting and drawing seems not so much tied to differences in status as to divergences in time, space, and spiritual experience. Benedict was a historical figure who predates the monks depicted with him by five centuries, while God would surely have been understood as a contemporary presence. The group of monks on the right who approach Benedict are carrying out an act of dedication, while the humble monk at Benedict's feet engages in an act of extreme devotion. The transportative possibilities of prayer are made manifest through the juxtaposition of color and line. The humble monk has left the commonplace zone of the monastery to enter the otherworldly and transcendent realm of reverential prayer, a distinct domain encapsulated in a field of opaque paint. Particularly touching are incursions of painted elements into the drawn zone: Benedict's hand framed by the open book; the praying monk's feet adjacent to those of his brothers. These details convey a sense of expectancy, an understanding on the part of the monastic society that the saint is just within reach. In many ways the artist responsible for the Eadui Psalter image brought the devotional possibilities first articulated in the frontispiece drawing of Dunstan's Classbook to a new level.

Drawing beyond Anglo-Saxon England

The experiments with line drawing pursued by Anglo-Saxon artists had a lasting and far-reaching impact on manuscript illumination in England and on the Continent. English artists would continue to explore the aesthetic possibilities of line drawing for centuries to come. Close ties with monastic houses in Flanders and France ensured that many of the artistic innovations of Anglo-Saxon draftsmen made their way across the Channel. The abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint Omer, near the Channel coast, for instance, had a particularly close relationship with Canterbury about the year 1000, a relationship enjoyed from at least as early as Dunstan's archbishopric at Canterbury (959–88). Odbert, the abbot of Saint-Bertin for some twenty years (ca. 986–ca. 1007), continued to cultivate relations with Dunstan's successor, Æthelgar (988–90), and his successor, Sigeric (990–94).[45] The best evidence of Saint-Bertin's links to England appears in the manuscripts produced during Odbert's tenure, of which some twenty survive. Odbert, himself an artist, took a special interest in books and book production, and the decoration in Saint-Bertin manuscripts suggests that the artists in his scriptorium both emulated and were inspired by their Anglo-Saxon counterparts (see cat. nos. 16, 19). Indeed, English artists seemed to have worked at Saint-Bertin. The master responsible for the exquisite drawing in the Ramsey Psalter created most of the decoration for an elaborate Gospel book (Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne, MS 11) produced in Saint-Bertin, to which Odbert himself contributed two initials.[46] A psalter (Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne, MS 20), decorated largely by Odbert, has additional marginal illustrations by an English artist;[47] some of the initials in the Odbert Gospels (cat. no. 16) may betray that same artist's hand.

The collaboration evident in these manuscripts gave rise to a composite style visible in many of the Saint-Bertin scriptorium's productions, which in general display a receptivity to English motifs and styles and a willingness to combine



Fig. 12. Virgin and Child and the Dream of Jesse, fols. 4v–5r (detail), *Explanatio in Isaiam* by Saint Jerome, Cîteaux, France, early 12th century. Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, MS 129



Fig. 13. *Frates carissimi* from an Exultet roll, Montecassino, Italy, ca. 1060–1070. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 3784

these elements in innovative ways. Ornate frames depicted in the manuscripts often look to those from Winchester, while many decorated initials recall letters featured in manuscripts from Canterbury. Saint-Bertin manuscripts make extensive use of the lively drawings in colored outline that Anglo-Saxon artists perfected, but the end result is often markedly different. As works such as the Odbert Gospels make clear, Saint-Bertin artists embraced color, often employing a richly painted background as a foil for the outlined figures. Gold and even silver are featured surprisingly frequently.

The monastery of Saint-Vaast in Arras, near Saint-Bertin, had a long tradition of producing painted manuscripts, as a number of Carolingian works attest. Nevertheless, when Saint-Vaast's scriptorium experienced a revival in the eleventh century, its artists adopted line drawing for several important books, including the enormous three-volume Bible of Saint-Vaast (Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras, MS 435).[48] This Bible includes twenty-four full-page illustrations that exhibit a fascinating mixture of intricate interlace, often used as frames, and outline drawings enlivened with washes of color in pale green, ocher, rose, and blue. The monks at Saint-Vaast, like those at Saint-Bertin, had numerous contacts with Anglo-Saxon clerics who stopped there upon arriving on the Continent. In her study of the Saint-Vaast

Bible, Dianne Reilly suggests that the extensive use of line drawing in the volumes may have signaled an appreciation not only for the Anglo-Saxon aesthetic but also for the reform philosophy of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics.[49]

The desire for monastic reform led to the establishment of the monastery at Cîteaux, a remote area near Dijon, in 1098. This monastery would become the mother house of the Cistercian order. The striking fusion of line and painted color that is a hallmark of many of the finest decorated manuscripts from the Cîteaux scriptorium has long been attributed to the influence of Stephen Harding, an Englishman born in Sherborne, who was one of the monastery's founders and who became its third abbot in 1108. A commitment to scholarship lay at the heart of the monastery's activities.[50] Within a short time after its founding, the library at Cîteaux held more than 100 books, which included a Bible commissioned by Harding, which was impressive for its scholarly ambitions (cat. no. 18). Its colophon indicates that Harding, in seeking to create a Bible that was definitive and free from errors, consulted numerous other Bibles and brought in Jewish experts to assist him. Initially the project's ambitions in the area of decoration were not comparable to its scholarly aspirations. The earliest volumes of the work show no more decoration than relatively simple ornamented initials. The last two volumes, however, display abundant illustrations, notable for virtuoso handling of the pen and sensitive use of color.

The Cîteaux scriptorium maintained a high level of draftsmanship for decades beyond the tenure of Harding. Its later manuscripts, which carry the modern designation of Cîteaux's "second style," reveal draftsmen of impressive sophistication, attuned to the ways the play of paint and line can illuminate the meaning of the text they adorn. The opening on folios 4v and 5r of a commentary on the biblical book of Isaiah by Saint Jerome (fig. 12) exemplifies the nuanced approach of the unnamed artist known as the Master of the Jesse Tree. On the left side of the page the luxuriously clad Virgin holds the Christ child to her face. Angels bearing gifts hover to either side, and a dove representing the Holy Spirit perches on her dotted halo. Several inches below, as if in a scene apart, a reclining man delineated entirely in brown ink, represents Jesse with his eyes closed as he grasps the stem of a vine emerging from his loins. On the facing page the Old Testament prophet Isaiah with a cloth bearing a Latin inscription wrapped around his arms leaps from a painted initial. The Latin text comes from two passages in Isaiah. One (11:1–2) describes "a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower [that] shall rise up out of his root"; the other (7:14) tells of "a virgin [who] shall conceive and bear a son." Linking the Latin words *virga* (rod) and *virgo* (virgin), Christians had long understood these verses to prophesy Christ's royal lineage through the family tree of Jesse and David and his birth to the Virgin Mary.

With mastery the artist has used the gutter of the book and the contrast between painted and drawn illustrations to separate Old Testament from New, prophecy from prophet. The painted figure of Isaiah, feet firmly planted on the curve of the letter *U*, points across the gutter to the floating, ethereal image of the Virgin and angels rendered in colored outline drawing. It seems likely that the sleeping figure of Jesse was never completed, but the unfinished state in which it was left underscores Mary and the Christ child's unique status as prophetic vision. They belong to a colorful dream world, distinct from the monochrome realm of the dreamer.

Drawing in the period of the tenth through the twelfth century was not limited to scriptoria on either side of the Channel. The monastery of Montecassino hosted at least one accomplished draftsman during the eleventh century. Two books of homilies, probably unfinished, from the monastery at Montecassino (MS 98, MS 99) feature full-page New Testament scenes done in outline drawing. They are noteworthy for their stylistic and iconographic debt to Byzantine art.[51] MS 99 includes a particularly fine full-page image of the donor presenting Desiderius, the abbot of the monastery, to Saint Benedict (p. 3). Delicate line enhanced by suggestions of shadows and weighty figures, almost blocklike in their proportions, characterize the illustration and appear as well in another image of Saint Benedict that adorns a martyrology also from Montecassino (Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS VIII.C.4, fol. 93r). These works were likely intended to be painted; if so, their unfinished state is nevertheless enlightening in focusing attention on the graphic nature of much illustration from Montecassino and its surrounding region. The drawings with washes of color that adorn many of the Exultet rolls from Benevento and Montecassino (see fig. 13),[52] suggest that line drawing, though of uneven quality and not widely employed, found a place in southern Italian manuscript decoration during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Spanish scriptoria of the eleventh century, particularly in the region of Catalonia, used drawings to decorate Bibles. Indeed, the large scale of their decorative programs may have contributed to the decision to rely for the most part on drawings. A mere handful of the copious illustrations from one Bible from the monastery of Sant'Pere de Roda (fig. 21.2) and another, perhaps from Santa Maria de Ripoll (Vatican Library, Lat. 5729), are fully painted.[53] Most are line

drawings with occasional touches of color. The illustrations range from relatively simple single scenes to sprawling compositions with multiple vignettes on a page. Nuanced line and resolved compositions were of no particular interest to the Spanish artists, whose primary aim seems to have been to present the Holy Scriptures as a narrative teeming with lively tales, every one of which merits illustration, completeness thereby trumping virtuosity.

Regensburg and the Learned Tradition

In 1108, on a visit to the Bavarian city of Regensburg, where Emperor Henry V was holding court at the abbey of Saint Emmeram, Bishop Otto of Bamberg had a vision of angels ascending a ladder to heaven.[54] The dream inspired him to found a monastery on the outskirts of Regensburg near the very villa in which he had slept and dreamed. There he established the abbey of Prüfening, dedicated to Saint George. To Prüfening, he brought a contingent of monks from the Swabian monastery in Hirsau. Hirsau was the leader of the monastic reform movement that would revitalize Benedictine monasteries throughout Germany and Austria. The relative abundance of surviving documentation concerning Prüfening during the twelfth century conveys a sense of the energetic and ambitious efforts of its monks in a moment of zealous building and rebuilding of monastic foundations.[55] One of Prüfening's priorities was the establishment of a library. To that end copyists of biblical works and learned writings by authors ancient and modern set to work to produce the books necessary to fill its shelves. A comparison of two inventories of the library, one datable to about 1150, the other firmly dated to 1165, both compiled by Wolfger, the monastery's librarian and treasurer, tells a story of enormous productivity in a short span of time.[56]

The energy expended on developing a library for Prüfening arose from a reverence for learned endeavors on the part of its monks, a reverence characteristic of the religious foundations of the Regensburg area in general.[57] Patristic writings, exegeses, histories, encyclopedias, cosmologies, and works of natural science all found a place on the library shelves. For Prüfening's highly educated brethren, to understand the world was to deepen their understanding of God. Their appreciation of intellectual pursuits involved not only copying and amassing writings by others but also creating new scholarly works indebted to the authors the monks admired. At Prüfening the monks' interests yielded theological, poetic, and mystical texts; they also engendered extraordinary drawings.

A city with numerous significant religious institutions patronized by kings and emperors, Regensburg was no stranger to grand books. The East Frankish king Arnulf of Kärnten had donated the lavishly illuminated and aptly named Golden Codex (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 14000) to Saint Emmeram about 870.[58] The sumptuous illustrations in the Golden Codex inspired the decoration in a lavish volume produced at Saint Emmeram between 1002 and 1014. This book, the Sacramentary of Henry II (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4456), bound with a gold and ivory cover, includes two portraits of the king, their richly painted and heavily gilded decoration as extravagant as the claim articulated in its pages that Henry's rule was divine in origin and far-reaching in extent.[59] The Gospels illustrated about 1020 for Uta (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 13601), abbess of the abbey of Niedermünster, also make manifest the appreciation for deluxe manuscripts evident in Regensburg.[60] Protected by a gilded box encrusted with enamels and jewels, Uta's manuscript displays a sophisticated visual program that testifies to the learned interests of the nuns of Niedermünster as well as their enjoyment of luxury books.

An entirely different sensibility informs Regensburg-Prüfening book production in the twelfth century. Characterized by severe line drawings executed in humble red and brown ink, these books reject the culture of display that Ottonian patrons of the tenth and eleventh centuries so assiduously pursued. Even the few surviving liturgical books from the area's scriptoria, the sort of manuscripts often associated with colorful embellishment, make use of line drawings for their decoration. These volumes do not offer a glimpse of dazzling wealth but rather reflect the monastic commitment to reform and the keen pursuit of learning, goals appropriately expressed by the markedly austere and highly legible format of their line drawings.

Their severe style notwithstanding, the drawings in Regensburg-Prüfening manuscripts tend to be rich in content. The consanguinity chart in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (cat. no. 22) epitomizes Prüfening's distinctive approach to decoration. The information basic to all consanguinity charts appears in the stemmed triangle, with rows and columns of family members arranged in orderly fashion to permit an easy determination of the degrees of kinship that separate one person from another. In this respect the drawing follows the standard format of such charts. The local draftsman has, however, used a house style, with carefully ruled lines and neat geometric forms that extend beyond the chart and enclose passages from the text of the *Etymologies* itself. Rather than the simple grid surrounded with bits

of frivolous decoration typical in other, earlier versions of this relatively commonplace diagram, the Prüfening chart is embedded in a meticulously symmetrical composition made up of rigid straight lines, perfect circles, tidy triangles, and neatly inscribed words.

Words play a crucial role in the design of the chart, as they do in many Regensburg-Prüfening drawings. Like the geometric forms, they are laid out in a strictly symmetrical manner. To read them, the monastic viewer had to immerse himself in the picture's fascinating geometry, moving around the perimeters of circles or across the top of the outermost frame, down one side, upside down across the bottom, and back up the other side. He could locate himself within the chart, if need be, plotting his consanguineous relations; but beyond that relatively straightforward task, he is invited to find himself within a larger system, one that embodies the perfect geometry of the whole cosmos as symbolized by the chart. The inscription on the outer frame, which asserts that all men are born from one man, Adam, and die in one man, Christ, encourages this idea, as does the placement of the chart within a *syndesmos* figure, that is, a figure whose hands are outspread in an all-embracing gesture that conveys the harmony of the Christian universe. The *syndesmos* figure here, like that in many of the Prüfening manuscripts, projects an unearthly serenity. The Prüfening brethren's God is a calm and masterly lord, utterly in control of his creation. The clever play between his absolute stillness and the animated assortment of faces within the grid, and between his expansive posture and their cramped circumstances, conveys God's majesty and places the individual within it.

Regensburg-Prüfening drawings do not lack for ambition. Their pictorial programs tend to be encompassing in concept and exceptionally learned in tone. Symbolic and allegorical thinking pervades their texts and pictures, manifesting itself in every genre—theology, exegesis, natural science, and history—that found favor in monastic libraries. Line drawing permitted the monks to present their ideas in all their complexity with an economy of means.

The Graphic Presentation of Ideas

Drawing has long served as the technique of choice for diagrams and learned writing. It is practical, able to interact seamlessly with the written text, and, because such works usually rely on time-honored schemata, can efficiently convey a great deal of information. Medieval diagrams are often dense with data.[61] Frequently their aim was to show how one set of information coincides with another, often in closed systems that reinforce one another. Though diagrams, replete with erudite scientific information, found a place in some of the most luxurious of manuscripts,[62] they more often appeared in humbler books as ink drawings. In some their utilitarian role overrides aesthetic considerations; stripped down to simple lines and circles, they are quite humble in their appearance. The most successful diagrams, however, whether richly painted or simply drawn, wed aesthetic concerns with didactic aims. The result in the Prüfening consanguinity diagram, for instance, is a memorable image in which the content of the chart is enriched by the decorative elements that enclose it. By virtue of the *syndesmos* figure in the Prüfening *Etymologies*, the legalistic details of the family relationships represented become manifestations of larger matters related to the cosmos. Medieval scholars reveled in this sort of thinking, which wedded microcosm and macrocosm, and in the well-designed diagrams that provide some of the most memorable expressions of it.

The fact that medieval thinkers favored drawings to explicate scientific information as they understood it should not surprise; this function of drawing remains consistent today. The visual conventions and aims of medieval drawings may, however, require explanation for modern viewers. The questions asked by medieval scientists, who at least in the early Middle Ages were devout monks living in monasteries, bear little resemblance to those asked by the scientists of our day, whose realm is the laboratory. Medieval thinkers concerned themselves with large systems, asking not if something—be it knowledge received from antiquity, a phenomenon observed, an event described in the Bible—were true but how to explain that it must be true. They sought elegance in their explanations because they understood the cosmos to be an orderly, harmonious enterprise created by God. Details therefore revealed large truths about the meaning of the universe and the place of the human being within it. In this context, the scale and the splendor of a work such as the Thorney Computus (cat. no. 28) makes sense, as does its creation in a monastic scriptorium. In addition to its numerous treatises, Thorney contains an astonishing number of tables and diagrams, rendered with the care and skill associated with the decorated liturgical texts created by English draftsmen.

Made at Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, probably under Abbot Gunter in the early twelfth century, the Computus demonstrates the continued vitality of colored ink drawing in England well after the Anglo-Saxon period. "Computus" refers to the measurement of time, particularly as it concerns the complex calculations required to

determine the dating of Easter and its associated feasts. These measurements, which would seem of limited value to moderns, for medievals occasioned investigations into a broad spectrum of knowledge. Thus, the Thorney Computus includes, in addition to the texts and tables specifically focused on computus, an array of related materials on cosmology, mathematics, medicine, grammar, and prognostication, among other subjects. The high esteem in which the monks of Thorney Abbey held this content dictated the volume's impressive dimensions—it is much larger than most computus texts—and its near-flawless white parchment, its extraordinary illustrations, and its succession of tables and diagrams, which number well over one hundred.

Charts appear with regularity in medieval computus manuscripts, but seldom do we sense any effort to make them aesthetically pleasing. The tables and *rotae* of the Thorney Computus are laid out precisely in ink using compass and ruler, as we would expect; its major distinction, however, lies in the liberal use of color and decorative elements to enhance both the attractiveness and legibility of the charts. A broad palette of red, pink, brown, purple, yellow, cream, and several shades of green and blue applied in varying degrees of opacity produces an exceptionally lively effect. Color often provides structure and order to the information in the text. Different colors are used to distinguish paired or grouped components in a diagram; juxtaposed columns of text in tables are written in alternating colors, making them easier to read. Splendid architectural frames organize the information in many charts (fig. 14). The combination of colors is so inventive and the decorative vocabulary that fills in the arches and spandrels of the structures represented in the diagrams is so rich that turning the pages of the book approximates an extraordinary architectural tour.

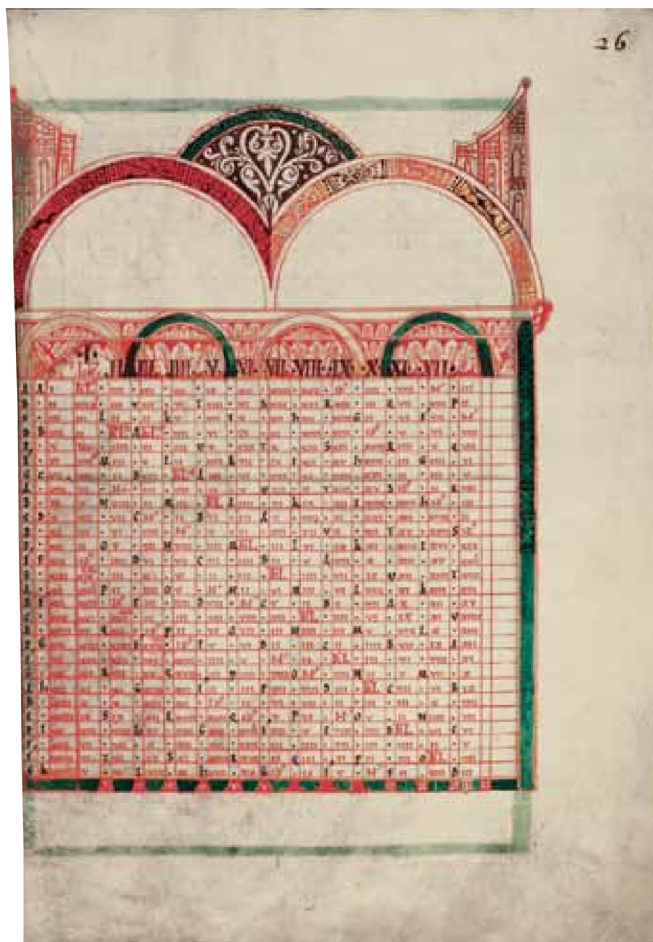


Fig. 14. Architectural diagram, fol. 26v, Thorney Computus (cat. no. 28), Thorney Abbey, England, ca. 1102–10. Saint John's College, Oxford, MS17

By any measure, whether modern or medieval, Byrhtferth's Diagram on folio 7v (cat. no. 28) surely exemplifies "graphical excellence," to use the term coined by a prominent student of data graphics to characterize a concise and clear chart that is presented in an aesthetically pleasing form.[63] It shows at a single glance the coordination of the many quaternities that figure in ancient and medieval explanations of the universe. The four elements, four directions, four ages of man, four winds, four seasons, the twelve signs of the zodiac (divisible into four), among other pieces of information, are mapped onto a set of unusual geometric shapes. The gentle bulges that animate the governing mandorla, the circles and semicircles that cut off the straight edges of the inner diamonds, the varieties of script and color all enhance the content of this visual treatise, demonstrating connections, inviting comparisons, and enlivening the display. Byrhtferth's Diagram is one of many manifestations of the synthetic approach of medieval thinkers, who sought to combine information of different types or from disparate sources into a harmonious whole. This was a mode of thinking that lent itself to diagrammatic expression. A map, such as the Sawley Map (cat. no. 30), which charted the locations of man-made structures, cities, geological features, and populations culled from the Bible, ancient legends and cosmographies, and travelers' accounts, presents enormous quantities of information both real and fantastic, ancient and contemporary, on a single page. It uses an engaging geographic framework to facilitate the comprehension of myriad historical events, intriguing phenomena, and religious concepts. Through their use of stemmata of genealogical lists, the artists responsible for the Peter of Poitiers roll (cat. no. 31) similarly sought to synchronize information, showing how historical events across geographic regions relate to one another. Both map and

roll demonstrate how the elegant geographical and historical congruence they propose both stems from and confirms the elegant cosmology of the Christian God.

Drawing in Twelfth-Century Salzburg

The twelfth-century scriptoria in the area we now call Austria shared many aesthetic preferences with monastic establishments in the nearby Regensburg region of Bavaria. A subdued graphic aesthetic reigns in the manuscripts produced by and for the scores of monasteries that sprang up in the wake of widespread church and monastic reform (see cat. no. 26). Drawing, particularly in a limited palette of reds and browns, likely met the practical needs of the scriptoria. The same ink was used for drawing pictures, embellishing initials, and writing texts and therefore was already on hand, saving both expense and effort. The relative austerity of the decorative programs as well as such economies likely spoke to the spirit of reform that had reinvigorated the monastic movement and encouraged the establishment of monasteries. The new piety required books but not showy ones.

To recognize the practicality of drawing for book decoration in these reform-minded monasteries is not, however, to argue for its inevitability. The drawn decoration found in Austrian monastic libraries in the second half of the twelfth century reveals an awareness of widespread and varied artistic currents, some of which gave pride of place to the art of line. The artist/scribes of these far-flung monasteries need only to have looked at the productions from the important religious and artistic center of Salzburg to observe the heights to which drawing could aspire.

A number of fine fully painted manuscripts can be associated with the scriptoria at Salzburg Cathedral and the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter, also in Salzburg. About the middle of the twelfth century, however, a noteworthy appreciation for the linear effects of drawing emerged. The ease with which those two modes of decoration, painting and drawing, coexisted in Salzburg illumination finds no better manifestation than in the resplendent Antiphonary of Saint Peter (fig. 15), a luxury manuscript laden with extravagant initials and page after page of more than fifty extraordinarily beautiful painted illustrations.[64] A dedication page showing the abbot of the monastery of Saint Peter's presenting the book to the patron saint is one of a number that dazzle with their colorfully painted figures set against backgrounds of shimmering gold leaf and surrounded by a richly patterned frame itself enclosed between two gold borders.[65] Most of the decoration, however, is



Fig. 15. Crucifixion, p. 300, Antiphonary of Saint Peter, Salzburg, ca. 1160. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Ser. nov. 2700

devoted to a series of biblical scenes, some full-page, others half-page, in which the figures are rendered in brown and red ink, their delicate line and subtle hints of wash a striking contrast to the vivid blue and green panels that serve as backgrounds (see fig. 15). Intricately patterned frames in the same red and brown ink used for the figures surround the whole image. These illustrations provide a dramatic stage for the draftsman's art. Silhouetted against patches of intense color, the drawn figures gain remarkable clarity. Their carefully executed contours and tender facial expressions as well as the understated effects of modeling are strikingly evident and offer a bold alternative to the fully painted pages. In view of the overwhelming luxuriousness and consistently high quality of the execution of these pages, it cannot be argued that concern about expense dictated the character of the antiphonary's decoration. The work was clearly intended as a tour de force of book decoration, providing an opportunity to show off the monastery's access to



Fig. 16. Eilbertus of Cologne, portable altar ca. 1130–40. Staatliche Museen, Berlin

the finest materials and most skillful artists available as well as its engagement with the most current artistic developments.

Scholars have long noted the similarity of the antiphonary's monochrome pages to twelfth-century enamelwork.[66] The medieval metalworker's craft was often closely allied to the draftsman's art, a relationship particularly strong in this period. The engraved images that at an earlier moment would have appeared on the back of a gem-encrusted processional cross or the back cover of a book became focal points of decoration on important pieces of metalwork, whether from Limoges, the Meuse or Rhine valleys, or Lower Saxony. The antiphonary might be described as a manuscript version of a portable altar assigned to Eilbertus of Cologne and dated about 1130 to 1140 (fig. 16).[67] The figures of the apostles and the eight scenes from the life of Christ on the top of the altar are engraved on reserve gilt copper with backgrounds of blue and green squares that recall the monochrome figures set against colored squares in the Antiphonary. In the center of the champlevé enamel panels, where a piece of porphyry usually appears, is a painting on vellum showing Christ in majesty set against a background of gold leaf. Both book and altar speak to similar notions of sumptuousness and artistic finesse, which the techniques of both the metalworker and the manuscript illuminator were capable of creating. The use of gold and color is central to the aesthetics of both works, as is the juxtaposition of figures against flat backgrounds, whether of gold or of color. This device allows the artist, whether goldsmith, engraver, painter, or draftsman, to focus attention on the figures and at the same time on his own skill in



Fig. 17. Job and lamenting woman, fol. 3r, *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great, Austria, 12th century. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 673



Fig. 18. Fol. 92v, Wolfenbüttel Model Book, Saxony or Venice?, ca. 1230–40. Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 61.2 Aug. 4°

rendering them. Though the gold and colored boxes were used as backgrounds for figural imagery in German manuscript painting and Italian wall painting of the eleventh century, the twelfth century was the moment in which these backgrounds brought the linear art of the metal engraver and draftsman to the fore.

Where did the taste for these strongly linear figures come from? A seminal lecture and subsequent article by Wilhelm Köhler nearly seventy years ago introduced the idea of a common figural style in force across western Europe that owed many of its defining features to the art of Byzantium.[68] Köhler used the term "damp fold" to describe the way drapery was rendered in this style—"a piling up in angles of parallel folds"—which he discerned in all media in Western art of the first half of the twelfth century.[69] The appearance of the damp fold coincided with an increased linearism in Byzantine art of the same period and surely derived from contact between Byzantine and Western artists, notably in Italy, that began to intensify in the eleventh century. Though the term damp fold rarely occurs in current art-historical discourse, Köhler's observations about a common aesthetic in the West—underlying manuscript illumination, metalwork, sculpture, and wall painting—with links to contemporary art in Byzantium remain a fundamental concept in understanding the figural style of this period.[70]

Köhler specifically cited the images in the Salzburg Antiphonary as examples of the widespread Byzantinizing style, and indeed the antiphonary is undeniably indebted to Byzantine models for some of its iconography, the proportions of its figures, its facial expressions, and its drapery style. A leading artistic center of the period, ideally situated to benefit from the exchange of artists, art objects, and artistic ideas between Italy and regions north, Salzburg provided the ideal milieu for an ambitious production such as the antiphonary, a single tome in which artists collected expressions of the finest and most respected contemporary artistic ideas. Scholars often characterize the drawings in Regensburg-Prüfening manuscripts as manifestations of Byzantine-influenced style in a transalpine context. However strong the linearity of Byzantine art might have been at this moment, it nonetheless remained primarily a style of dazzling effects achieved through color and sumptuous materials. The expression of its linear tendencies through drawings such as those found in the antiphonary and in Regensburg-Prüfening manuscripts is yet to be adequately explained.[71]

Artists' Sketches and the Transmission of the Graphic Aesthetic

In Salzburg, as at Regensburg-Prüfening, drawn illustrations were not limited to a single magisterial book. Drawings adorned a number of manuscripts associated with the Salzburg Cathedral scriptorium (see cat. no. 25), among which is a moving image of the disease-ridden Job and his suffering wife that serves as the pastedown for the front cover for one volume of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* (fig. 17).[72] In spite of its thematic correspondence with the text it accompanies, the drawing may not originally have been intended as part of the book's decorative program. The figures depart stylistically from the drawn initials in the volume, and they float without context on a compromised piece of parchment, suggesting that they may represent a trial sketch rather than an unfinished work. Whatever its purpose, the drawing's beauty was surely recognized, for it was preserved. The monastery decorated other notable manuscripts less luxurious than the antiphonary with drawings, among them Bibles: two examples are the so-called



Fig. 19. Sketch, possibly Mainz or Saint Gall, 9th–10th century. Jörn Günther Antiquariat, Hamburg (exhibited)

Larger Bible of Saint Peter and the Smaller Bible of Saint Peter (Erzstift Saint Peter, Salzburg, Cod. a XII 18-20 and Cod. a XII 21-23).[73] Clearly, line drawing had found a place in the artistic repertory of Salzburg and the surrounding region.

There is evidence, albeit limited, that the movement of artists and art objects that made possible the Byzantine contribution to Western art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may also have yielded a new appreciation for draftsmanship. Numerous scholars have noted that several sketchbooks or fragments of sketchbooks survive in German and Swiss libraries that bear witness to the exchange of ideas and motifs between Byzantine and Latin artists. The sketches, datable to the first half of the twelfth century, bound within a book in the monastic library at Einsiedeln (cat. no. 34), for example, show a variety of motifs likely based on monumental art in southern Italy. A set of single sheets from Freiburg (Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau, G23/1a-c), once preserved in a later account book, may date to about 1200 and appears to be the work of an artist trained in the Upper Rhine who was copying various models in the Mediterranean region.[74] The Wolfenbüttel Model Book (fig. 18), in the library of the Abbey of Marienthal near Helmstedt by the fifteenth century, includes six leaves with drawings inserted in a miscellany of texts.[75] These drawings are usually dated to approximately 1230 to

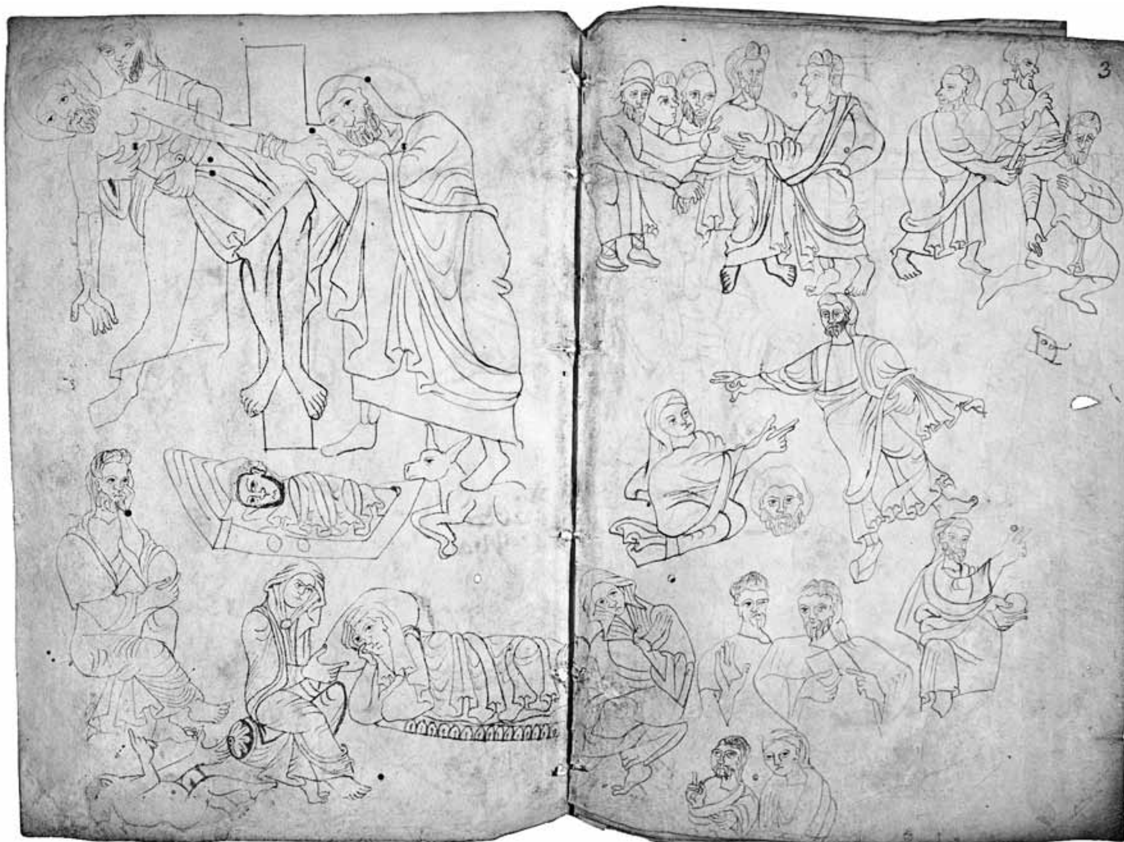


Fig. 20. Sketches, fols. 45v–46r, Notebooks of Adémar de Chabannes, Saint-Martial, Limoges, ca. 1020. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Cod. Voss. Lat. Oct. 15

1240, but scholars disagree about whether the artist was German or Byzantine.

Drawings such as those in the Corbie Psalter had long served as the basis for painted manuscripts, but none of these twelfth- and thirteenth-century sheets would be called preliminary sketches for an unfinished book. Rather, they serve as motif samplers, with drawings taken from different models. Whether single sheets or leaves bound together in an unrelated volume, they gather partial compositions and individual figures in a haphazard way, sometimes without respect to the orientation of the page or of other drawings on the page. The variety of motifs and their random disposition argue against identifying them as coherent pattern books. We hesitate even to assign the word "book" to them; they may or may not have belonged to a larger work.

Such motif samplers are not entirely anomalous in the history of books. Though rare, sketches or sketchbooks from an earlier period do survive. A single sheet from the ninth or tenth century that juxtaposes a standing male figure with a border of leaf ornament (fig. 19) might depict motifs that simply caught the eye of an artist. Or this sheet might show a pair of trial sketches, tests on scrap parchment made before the artist committed his ideas to another, more permanent support. The set of notebooks created by Adémar de Chabannes, a monk from Limoges who died in 1034, offers an extraordinary collection of miscellaneous notes, texts, and drawings that seem to have been compiled by the owner for his personal use (see fig. 20).[76] Other examples closer in date to the Einsiedeln, Freiburg, and Wolfenbüttel leaves include a bifolio with a neat arrangement of full-length figures (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome Vat. lat. 1976, fols. 1r–2v)[77] and a sketch of an apocalyptic diagram (cat. no. 37) from the monastery of Saint Peter.

The Einsiedeln sketches, the Freiburg leaves, and the Wolfenbüttel Model Book differ from these works in the degree of finish of their drawings. Light brown washes provide subtle modeling on the faces of the two saints depicted in the Einsiedeln pages; in the meander pattern and the foliate motifs in that work, the brown wash conveys an effect of shadows and depth. Though some drawings in the Wolfenbüttel sheets are unfinished, many include a wash—sometimes sepia, sometimes grayish blue or green—that softens the hard edges of the lines. One of the Freiburg leaves uses two distinct techniques. The lower image is a sepia line drawing with washes and a few touches of red; the upper, a rare instance of early silverpoint. The artists responsible for these three works seem as much interested in experimenting with effects achieved with a variety of graphic techniques as they are in recording an array of motifs. The tentative, rough quality of most surviving sketches from the Middle Ages before the thirteenth century seems a world apart from the polish of these works. Is it possible that accomplished sketches of this kind led to an appreciation of the monochromatic effects of drawings? Perhaps they encouraged experimentation with graphic modes and promoted trial works of higher quality, as the extraordinary sketch of Job and his wife suggests. They certainly provided an eloquent argument for the inclusion of fine drawings in the most luxurious of books.

The Thirteenth Century: Drawing as Testimony

In paging through Robert Scheller's admirable compilation of model-book drawings, we see that only a few of the works appear purposeful in nature, designed for future use by artists.[78] In presenting each of the letters of the Latin alphabet in a unified style, a Tuscan book of letters (cat. no. 33) displays a degree of cohesion and systematization that is absent from most of the other examples in Scheller's work. It is not difficult to envision these pages as a reference tool for a practicing artist. A roll of sketches from Vercelli (Sant'Eusebia Archivio Capitolare), which shows two rows of scenes from the lives of Saints Peter and Paul, includes an inscription telling us that the drawings record frescoes in a church undergoing restoration.[79] Thus it constitutes an unusual instance of a methodical arrangement of pictures from a single site.

Most model-book drawings, however, do not follow this pattern and elude easy explanation. They are usually motif samplers—curious collections of images and notes arranged haphazardly on the parchment. They seem to operate in a subjective mode, not a prescriptive one; that is, their subjects have been determined by a series of individual experiences, interests, and reactions rather than a focused, larger objective. These compilations may represent trial sketches, that is, attempts by an artist to work out a design, or they may record a figure, a letter, or a composition that caught an artist's eye, an idiosyncratic response to something seen. Works such as Adémar's notebooks, therefore, both invite and frustrate efforts to discover the motivations and methods of the draftsman responsible.

Of all works that can be defined loosely as medieval sketchbooks, perhaps none has received more scholarly attention than the portfolio of drawings created by Villard de Honnecourt sometime between 1220 and 1240 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fr. 19093).[80] A collection of some thirty-three leaves, now stitched together but originally detached sheets assembled in a leather cover,

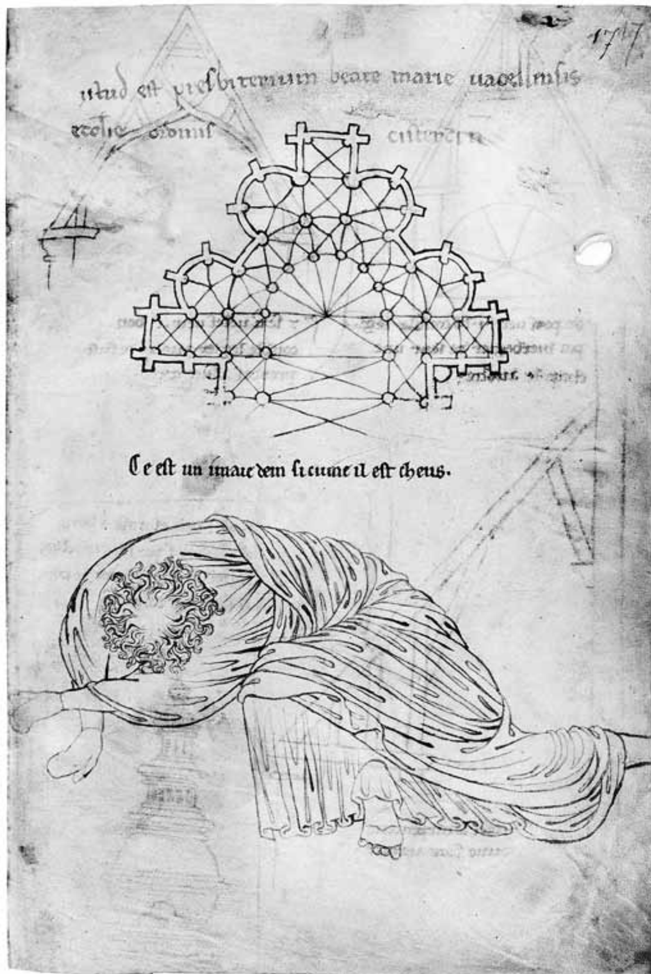


Fig. 21. Plan for chevet of Notre-Dame at Vaucelles and sleeping apostle, fol. 17r, Sketchbooks of Villard de Honnecourt, Paris, ca. 1220–40. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fr. 19093

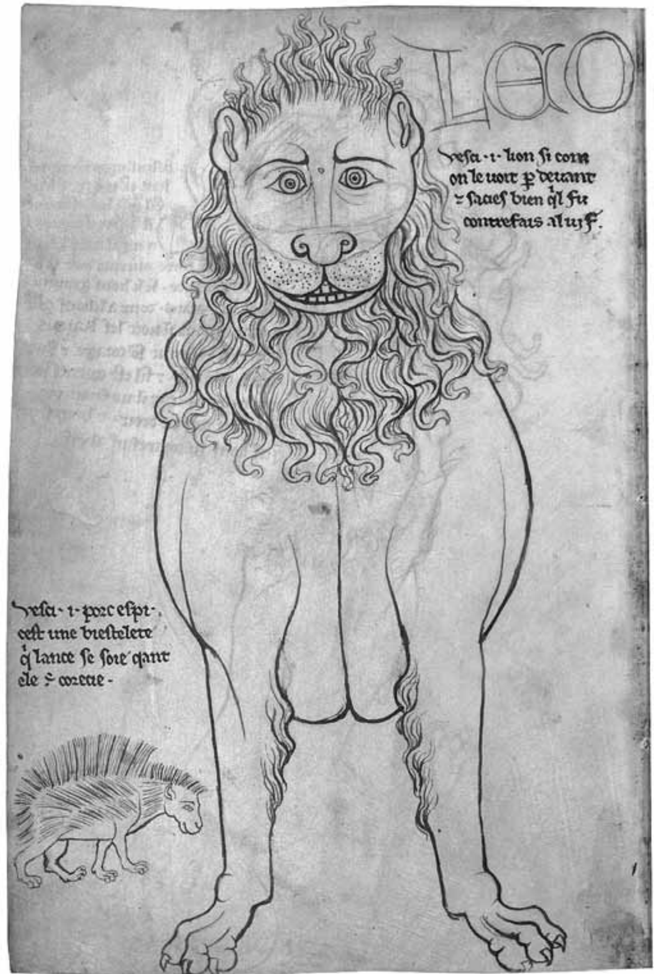


Fig. 22. Leo, fol. 24v, Sketchbooks of Villard de Honnecourt, Paris, ca. 1220–40. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fr. 19093

they depict an array of subjects from animals to architecture, human figures to mechanical devices. They reflect a curious mind, an artist as interested in geometry and masonry techniques as he is in patterns of drapery folds (fig. 21) and the human figure in action and at rest. Villard's occupation is a mystery and has been the subject of debate among scholars. Some believe he was an architect, a master mason, or mason in training. Others have proposed that he was a metalworker or simply a dilettante with access to pen and parchment. He was without question a draftsman.

Carl Barnes, one of the foremost scholars of the portfolio, has discussed Villard's technique of rendering figures with drapery.[81] Barnes describes a six-step process, which began with a light leadpoint sketch to establish contours; that initial sketch might be corrected by either rubbing or redrawing. He then lightly sketched in drapery folds and pleats in leadpoint, followed by an application with brush of pale sepia ink wash to enhance the contour lines. Villard finished most of his drawings using those three steps. Occasionally, however, he brought drawings to a more complete state, using a thicker line with darker ink to add definition and nuance to the contours. He then enhanced the lines of the drapery with ink to create their characteristic hairpin turns. Finally, in the sixth step, Villard filled in or shaded the fold with leadpoint.

Barnes suggests that these steps in the draftsman's process mimic those of a metalworker creating the sorts of engraved works enhanced with enamel and/or niello that were contemporaneous with Villard's drawings. Indeed, Barnes proposes that Villard might well have been a metalworker by profession—an interesting notion given the close stylistic relationship between drawings on parchment and engraved metalwork in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Whether or not Villard was a metalworker, his drawings indicate that he responded to what he saw and used line and wash to record his impressions. His reworking of

contours and his complicated method, which involved moving from leadpoint to ink to leadpoint again, imply that his portfolio served as an instrument both for working out ideas and for refining his technique. The many kinds of images—cross sections, ground plans, elevations, isometric renderings—reveal that he well understood the descriptive possibilities of drawing. He used drawing to highlight the recurring patterns, surface details, and underlying geometric structures of the figures and forms he depicted. Though some pages show elements that are clearly random in their juxtapositions, others provide evocative arrangements of seemingly dissimilar images that nonetheless resonate with one another on a formal level. The portfolio reveals Villard to have been a visual thinker, an artist who took drawing seriously as a means to describe and engage with the world he saw.

The choice of subjects and their disposition on the page speak to Villard's private experiences and personal interests over a long period of time and, most likely, through several journeys. But at some point, the draftsman appears to have redefined his project, rearranging his collection of loose sheets and turning them into a bound book of instructional value. This may have been the moment when he chose to further refine some of his drawings. Adding (or having someone else add) inscriptions in Old French, Villard imposed a new order and purpose on the collection of sketches, addressing himself directly to the audience he sought. He begins the book by sending his greetings to its readers, asking them to pray for his soul and remember him and asserting that the book will provide "sound advice" on masonry and carpentry and the proper technique for drawing according to principles of geometry.[82]

The inscriptions provide a rare instance of a medieval draftsman commenting on his own work. Most of Villard's remarks do little more than identify the images, but some explain why the subject he depicts caught his interest, as in folio 9v: "nowhere have I seen a tower like that of Laon."[83] The accompanying image of said tower is one of many that adjoin specific references to his having seen the very thing he draws. Villard writes on folio 6r above a puzzling image, presumably of a Roman monument, that he "once saw the sepulcher of a Saracen which looked like this," and adjacent to a clock tower pictured on folio 6v the inscription reads, "Whoever wishes to build a clock tower, see here one that I once saw."[84]

Medieval writers frequently assured readers that they had seen something with their own eyes in order to testify to the truth of what they reported, recalling the practice of using witnesses to verify the validity of a legal transaction.

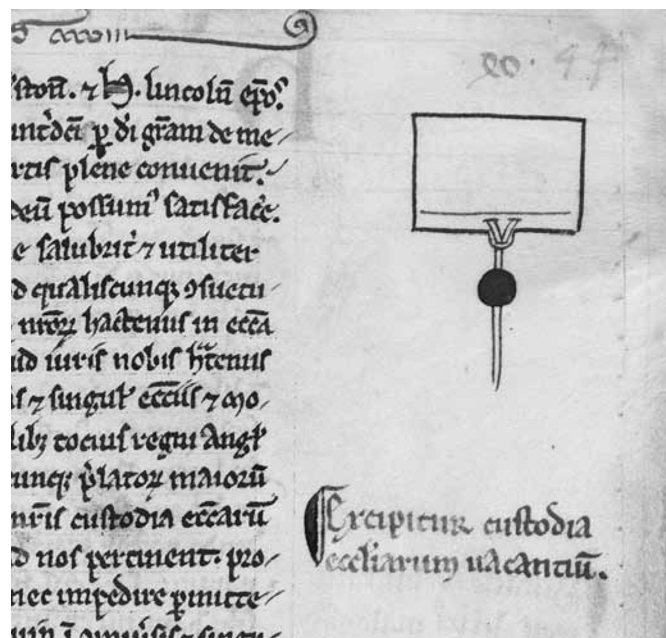


Fig. 23. Papal Bull, fol. 44r, *Chronica Majora, Part 2* by Matthew Paris, Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240–53. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16

Because Villard's remarks accompany images rather than a written description or document, they represent a novel application of that rhetorical tradition. The references to seeing the thing depicted articulate a connection between direct observation and drawing, albeit not precisely of the sort we associate with art and artists of a later period. The inscriptions do not describe the circumstances of the creation of the drawings or suggest that the drawing is a mimetic representation of something before the artist's eyes in a postmedieval sense. Rather, Villard seems intent on making explicit what other "sketchbooks" only imply: that the images depicted in this portfolio take their inspiration from things— buildings, works of art, mechanical devices—seen in the real world. They do not express a private vision or creative invention on the part of the draftsman.[85] The portfolio's celebrated image of a lion (fig. 22) uses a different, more vivid, formulation to make the same point. Here, the inscription reports that Villard drew the image from life (*contrefais al vif*). However, the result does not come close to meeting the modern standard of life drawing, and indeed, it is clear that Villard looked to preexisting images of lions to help him devise this one. The subject of a lion, a creature that few inhabitants of Western Europe presumably would ever see, perhaps required more emphatic language than a simple "I saw" to persuade Villard's audience that this work arose from direct visual experience.

Whereas text in Villard's portfolio is used to validate the testimonial power of the images, many of the images in

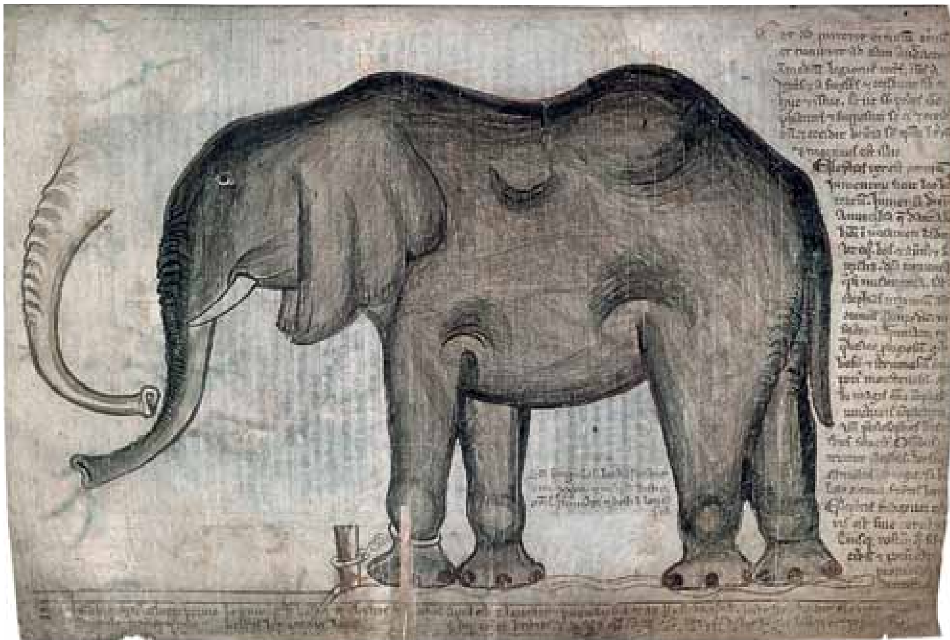


Fig. 24. Henry III's elephant, fol. 169v, *Liber Additamentorum* by Matthew Paris, Saint Albans, England, 1250–59. British Library, London, Cotton Nero D.I.

the three-volume *Chronica Majora* by Villard's contemporary Matthew Paris (cat. no. 41) serve to validate the testimonial power of text. Along with illustrations of some of the historical events Matthew chronicles in the volumes, an array of devices useful for cross-indexing, including miniature representations of official documents (fig. 23), appear in the margins of the text. The texts for the documents pictured are sometimes copied or inserted into the *Chronica* itself, and sometimes they direct the reader to a copy in a separate collection of documents. The primary sources provide supporting documentation for the events recounted in the *Chronica*, which make specific reference to charters, letters, and the like. Suzanne Lewis has shown that the small pictures, though they seem cursory, are remarkably accurate in relation to the actual documents. Particular attention is given to identifying details such as the proportions of the original sheet or the correct color of the wax seal.[86] Clearly Matthew did not deem a transcription of the original document sufficient to indicate that he or another scribe had access to an authoritative version of it. By showing the visual attributes of the original source, Matthew authenticates the textual versions that appear either in the *Chronica* or in the supplemental collection. The little drawings uphold his standing as a historian, proving that he truly saw the archival material and could corroborate or faithfully record at least the gist of its content.

As Jean Givens has noted, the thirteenth century offers numerous manifestations of the notion that drawing played a privileged role in representing that which is seen by direct



Fig. 25. Elephant, fol. iir, *Chronica Majora, Part 2* by Matthew Paris, Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240–53. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16

observation.[87] When William of Rubruck, a Franciscan monk, reported to Louis IX of France about the trip he had taken in 1253 to convert the Tartars at the king's request, he lamented the fact that he did not possess the skills to draw what he saw. He specifically mentioned carts used to carry the coffers that hold the Tartar's belongings: "The married women make themselves very fine wagons, which I could describe to you only by drawing—and indeed I should have drawn everything for you had I known how to draw."[88] Though William described other objects, such as a psalter and a crucifix, both of European manufacture, as beautiful, only the carts prompted him to remark upon the utility of a visual image to convey to his reader's eye something his words cannot evoke. More than once in his narrative William complains about the untrustworthiness of his translators.[89] Presumably because the particular beauty and form of the carts lay outside the aesthetic categories with which William and his readers were familiar, they were an acute reminder of the shortcomings of language in cross-cultural exchange. Words left him longing for a means to cut across cultures in order to convey what he saw. For William visual images constituted this means.

The gift of an elephant to the king of England in 1255 presented one opportunity for Matthew Paris to exercise his draftsman's skills in the service of eyewitness reporting, in a way that would have made Friar William envious. Matthew, like Villard, understood the usefulness of drawings and was remarkably mindful of their descriptive and instructive potential. Like Villard, he experimented with different kinds of drawing. His drawings range from simple symbols to rich narrative scenes and include diagrams, charts, and maps of remarkable variety. Because he was a writer, he understood better than Villard how images can complement and interact with text to advance the goals of his various projects. Drawing could be a notational tool or a means to represent a historical event described in the text of the *Chronica*. Even within Matthew's astonishing oeuvre, his images of the king's elephant, which he tells us were drawn from life, stand out. Matthew, like Villard standing before his lion, seems to have been compelled by the exotic nature of his animal subject to use extraordinary means to underscore his claim of direct observation.

We have two efforts by Matthew to depict the elephant. One (fig. 24), preserved in the *Liber Additamentorum* (British Library, London, Cotton Nero D.I.), the separate collection of documents that Matthew compiled, seems to be a preliminary version of the completed picture (fig. 25), which until recently was inserted at the beginning of the second volume of the *Chronica Majora*. Matthew devoted substantial pieces of parchment to both endeavors. In the earlier version he disposed the animal horizontally on the page, which allowed him to use most of the sheet. Unlike the drawings in the *Chronica*, this image obviously preceded its accompanying text, the lines of which conform to the spaces left over by the picture. In the second image, the project has morphed into something more substantial, at least more textually substantial. Though the second drawing is considerably more finished than the first, it occupies only a portion of the page. Matthew has given in to his tendency to be verbose, setting the framed picture within a lengthy tract composed of a description of the elephant's physical characteristics and habits along with supplementary information taken from the Bible, the Bestiary, and assorted ancient and medieval authors. The image itself is unlike the preliminary version. It incorporates text—inscriptions that name and label the beast's keeper and a note, between the elephant's legs, telling us that "by the size of the man portrayed here, the dimensions of the animal represented may be imagined."[90]

The hundreds of drawings in Matthew's manuscripts give us a sense of his range but rarely do they provide an idea of his process to the degree that his elephant pictures do. The two elephants reveal that Matthew toiled intensely on this project. The very fact that he turned to the subject twice is an indication of the sustained attention he brought to the task. In his pair of renditions he seems to be testing ways to best convey what he saw in visual terms. For instance, he singles out the trunk for special study in the first version. It is impossible to know whether the detail of the trunk, which he places in the space to the left of the elephant, is an attempt to offer an alternate view or to show how the appendage moves, or both. Perhaps it simply reflects Matthew's efforts to get it right, to work through how to depict the peculiar accordion-like folds or the particular shape and curvature of the opening at the end. Matthew was clearly intrigued by the elephant's joints, both at the knees just above the feet and where the legs meet the body.[91] For the latter in the earlier version he relies on repetitive strokes in brown ink. The effect is more insistent than that achieved in the later version, where soft swirls of gray mark the joints.

A marginal drawing of another elephant in the *Chronica* makes it clear that Matthew has approached the illustration of the king's animal in a decidedly different manner. Rendered as a barrel-shaped quadruped with a pointy face and triangular ears, its tusks emerging from its mouth as if ready for a joust, the beast in the margin derives from long-standing medieval pictorial conventions for depicting elephants and thus approximates the pictures found in

bestiaries.[92] However, in the two drawings of the king's elephant, Matthew pays studious attention to the lumpy back, the large flapping ears, the separate toenails, and the fold of skin from which the tusk emerges; in so doing, he has clearly seized upon details discovered in confronting the living animal that do not conform to traditional portrayals.

Matthew was particularly intrigued by two aspects of the elephant's appearance; they may even have vexed him somewhat as he tried to represent them. He discusses both in his text: the size of the elephant—measured in cubits—and the color and the texture of the hide—described as grayish black and hard and rough. Matthew's decision to orient the elephant horizontally allowed the animal to fill up the page. It certainly must have been dictated by his desire to suggest the elephant's prodigious size, one of the great marvels of the species. In the second, smaller picture Matthew included the keeper to provide human scale and convey, by contrast, the magnificent girth of the elephant. Because he had less room on the page, he saw to it that the elephant completely filled the allotted space, with its contours pressing up against the four corners of the frame. Lest anyone miss these cues, the ever-verbal Matthew added the extra inscription instructing the viewer to compare elephant and keeper.

The skin provided another challenge. In order to convey the distinctive color and texture of the hide, Matthew had to depart considerably from techniques that are the hallmark of his style. Most of Matthew's pictures are tinted line drawings, in which translucent colored wash both enhances the ink outline and suggests light and shade by means of its application over large areas, usually with enough parchment left bare to supply highlights. This technique appeared as early as the tenth century and enjoyed a revival in the thirteenth century with many books of high quality testing its range (see cat. nos. 42, 43). Indeed, because the technique is ubiquitous in Matthew's oeuvre, for decades scholars believed he alone was responsible for its revival. When Matthew strays from this technique to create fully painted works, he does so with deliberateness. His display of heraldic shields included in the *Liber Additamentorum* (fol. 171v) was obviously intended as a reference tool and therefore uses opaque painted color to capture various tinctures. He seems to have painted his effigy of Christ, known as the Veronica (British Library, London, Arundel 157, fol. 2), in an effort to suggest the richness of a Byzantine icon.[93]

Matthew's elephants display several solutions to the problem of depicting the hide. All begin with an outline in brown ink. The detail of the trunk in the first image uses only a light brown wash to shade the appendage. For the complete elephant on that sheet, Matthew has stretched the tinted line drawing technique to its limits. He has applied a gray wash, darkening it along the upper edges of the trunk and body and leaving the merest traces of color on the underside of the trunk. The wash is dark but not so dark that he cannot use his pen to indicate folds and swellings. The second, smaller image represents such a departure that it perhaps should not even be classified as a drawing. Here Matthew renders the elephant's skin with opaque paint and uses brushstrokes to create the effects he sought with a pen on the earlier work. Only for the white of the eye and the tusk has he left the parchment bare. The brushstrokes are fully evident, as in the earlier version, but here he modulates the color with greater subtlety. The wash on the first work reveals scratches in ink, perhaps to suggest the hide's texture; the later work, with its thicker application of color, better conveys the nature of the hard, grayish black hide he describes, and also succeeds in suggesting the fullness of the elephant's impressive size. The beast's keeper, on the other hand, Matthew renders as a simple, uncolored outline drawing. A merely utilitarian figure, equivalent in function and medium to the inscription that refers to him, he in no way detracts from Matthew's fully realized, painted rendition of the elephant. Among Matthew Paris's many skills as a draftsman was simply knowing when painting suited his purposes better than drawing.

Defining Drawing

Much art of the Middle Ages suggests a keen awareness of the distinctive qualities and connotations of drawing. Medieval texts, however, offer no such information. There are many words that can mean drawing but none that signify it exclusively. In written expression the notion of drawing is classified in semantic categories that stress either the physical act of inscribing forms, be they letters or pictures, on a blank support or the resulting effect of that effort. Thus, the Latin word *scribere* shares with the Old English word *awritan* the idea of creating a furrow in the support by scratching or engraving figures with a tool with a sharp point.[94] The Latin word *protrahere*, from which the English words portray, portrait, and the like derive, can encompass the act of drawing, but it has a broader meaning that is closer to that of our verb to create, to disclose, or to reveal, something a drawing or painting can do as readily as text.[95] *Pingere* or *depingere* signifies the act of creating a picture, regardless of material or technique. To embroider, to paint, to draw all fall within its range of meanings.

The materials used to draw made the distinction between drawing and writing and between drawing and

painting a subtle one, to be sure. A stylus with a sharp point could as easily be used for ruling lines in preparation for copying text as for delineating a preparatory drawing. The same is true for the pencil or plummet, which came into use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The ink and quill pen employed to write script are the very materials used to create drawings. It is no accident that the same colors—black or sepia, reddish orange, green, and blue—appear in both the texts and images of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[96] There is still much to learn about the techniques and materials of medieval drawings, but Sally Dormer's technical analysis of a small number of English manuscripts from the tenth to the twelfth century suggests that the differences between drawing and painting were not based on the materials used, for she found almost all the same pigments in manuscripts that were painted and drawn. [97] Artists achieved different visual effects by manipulating the pigment to make it more or less opaque. A naturally transparent pigment such as folium, verdigris, or indigo was used in a more concentrated form on a painted page, mixed with a denser pigment, or applied over a layer of white. In manuscripts with colored outline drawings such as the Harley Psalter (cat. no. 12), the pigments used to create the contours were more or less equivalent in opacity to those used in broad sections of color found in fully painted works.

How then should drawing in a medieval context be defined? The definition of drawing in later periods is rarely questioned. In the Italian Renaissance the concept of *disegno* made the meaning of drawing self-evident. The materials and the support distinguished drawing from painting. But this was not true in the Middle Ages, when the functions of drawings varied: they might be preparatory; formal studies; purposeful recordings of the material world of a kind that is usually associated with later draftsmen; commentary akin to textual addenda; or deluxe decoration akin to painting that places it within a medieval pictorial tradition. The distinctiveness of drawing in the Middle Ages arises from its particular visual effect, which changed over time and according to its place of origin and the particular function it fulfilled. The modern dichotomy between color and line that helps to separate later drawing from painting is not applicable. Medieval drawings are defined in part by the presence of line, but they were not all monochrome. Color often figures prominently, whether used for the contour itself or as a wash applied to an area, either large or small. In many medieval manuscripts, drawing is defined largely by contrast with the alternative aesthetic choice of painting, sometimes within the same image, sometimes in relation to other versions of the same subject, sometimes, as in manuscripts associated with early medieval Canterbury, in relation to other volumes from the same scriptorium or from other centers of manuscript production. Dormer's study of materials suggests that medieval drawing might best be defined in terms of its use, not of the pen, but of the parchment. The willingness to allow the parchment itself to play a major role within the picture and not simply to serve as frame or support may distinguish the draftsman's art from that of the painter (even if the artist is both a painter and a draftsman). Whether used as the fill for outlined forms, as a highlight in works with limited tinting, or as a subtle presence behind an overall veil of wash, parchment is a partner with line in the creation of pictorial effects.

The role of drawing, the status of artists, the relationship of illuminators to other kinds of pictorial artists, and the sorts of techniques favored by artists change discernibly in the fourteenth century. Numerous scholars have remarked upon a shift in the character of the so-called model books in the latter part of the century.[98] The increased use of specifically graphic materials and techniques such as silverpoint and cross-hatching gave new range to draftsmen. The support—parchment and now more often paper—was increasingly perceived as space within which a figure stood rather than a plane on which it floated. A higher degree and quality of finish in the later works suggest the sketches were subject to a more public display than before, perhaps as advertisements, demonstration pieces that showed off an artist's skill. They may imply greater self-consciousness on the part of illuminators regarding their abilities.

Even before the end of the fourteenth century, there was evidence of drawing used to display an artist's virtuosity with the pen. In the Windmill Psalter, from the end of the thirteenth century (cat. no. 47), scribal decoration in the form of line fillers and especially penwork-flourished initials reaches extravagant heights of cleverness and intricacy. The use of semigrisaille and grisaille, in which figures are rendered in subtle shades of gray and brown, in early fourteenth-century manuscripts suggests luxury by emulating costly materials such as ivory and alabaster sculpture or goldsmithswork and, more significantly, by bringing attention to the remarkable skills of an artist able to create such illusions. Though there is color in a manuscript such as The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (cat. no. 49), the grisaille elements emphasize rather than detract from the sculptural quality of the figures. Whether or not it is considered a form of draftsmanship, grisaille pays homage to the graphic aesthetic, recognizing it as an exemplary means of revealing an artist's abilities. This use of the drawinglike effects of grisaille to display an artist's talents is not so far from

Vasari's notion that drawing, because it is a direct expression of the artist's intellect and creativity, serves both to indicate his skills and to stand in for his person.

The drawing of Christ and the monk from Dunstan's Classbook (cat. no. 7) highlights the similarities and differences between medieval and Renaissance conceptions of drawing. An anonymous sixteenth-century scribe saw fit to add an inscription to the top of the drawing, which had been executed some six centuries earlier. The inscription, written in a peculiar, pseudo-Gothic script, tells us that "the image and writing . . . on this page are by the very hand (*de propria manu*) of Saint Dunstan."[99] The phrase "*de propria manu*" ultimately derives from a medieval legal context: notaries used it, referring to their own signatures, to verify the authenticity of a document. This locution became standard in artists' contracts of the Italian Renaissance, employed to ensure adequate involvement of the master in a workshop commission.[100] A long-held tradition that Dunstan himself created the work was presumably the basis of the scribe's addition. Whatever the extent of his own involvement with the drawing, Dunstan understood the frontispiece image to be an expression of devotion. After his death, medieval viewers must have appreciated the drawing's direct connection to the beloved saint, understanding the drawing as a relic akin to the Anglo-Saxon embroideries that tradition assigned to the hands of saints Harlindis and Relindis.[101] In certifiying Dunstan's authorship by means of a legal formulary, the inscription of the sixteenth-century scribe suggests a subtle shift in how the drawing came to be valued. In the Middle Ages the drawing warranted reverence because it was the relic of a saint, a saint also known as an artist; in the sixteenth century, it seemed to have also commanded respect because it was the relic of an artist, an identity that itself verged on sainthood.

1. G. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by G. du C. de Vere, vol. 1 (New York and Toronto, 1996), vol. 1, pp. 625–26. A standard edition of the original Italian is edited by G. Milanesi: *Le vite de' i più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori* [Florence 1906], 9 vols.
2. De Vere Vasari, vol. 1, pp. 626–27.
3. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 658.
4. Ibid.
5. See the discussions in Scheller 1987, pp. 20–22, and Dormer, pp. 103–5.
6. Broad scholarly explorations of the topic are few. Among the small group of studies, the following are particularly helpful: Evans 1969; Scheller 1987; Scheller 1995; Dormer 1991; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968–, and the response in Pächt 1971; Degenhart 1950; Wormald 1952.
7. See, for example, the remarks of Wormald 1952, pp. 19–20, and Evans 1969, p. 5.
8. Adornato 2006. My thanks are due to Jonathan Alexander and William Voekle for directing me to this source. See also the exquisite drawings in encaustic on marble from Herculaneum in Washington, D.C., 2008–9, cat. no. 108.
9. O'Meadhra 1979
10. This is very much the approach of Scheller in his fine study of the typology of drawings; see Scheller 1987.
11. Alexander 1978b, no. 17.
12. Hubert et al. 1969, figs. 195–197. It is also worth mentioning the early Insular drawings exemplified by a page depicting the four Evangelists' symbols in the Book of Armagh (Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS 52, fol. 32v).
13. Paris 2007b, p. 129.
14. Pächt 1986, p. 52.
15. Bessette 2005, p. 91. My interpretation of the role of the drawing in the Corbie Psalter relies on her astute study of the manuscript, pp. 59–142.
16. For the facsimile, see Horst 1984. For a summary of the vast literature devoted to this manuscript and an overview of the technical aspects of the book, see Horst 1996.
17. On Reims scriptoria, see Mütherich 1996 and Köhler and Mütherich 1994–99. See also the remarks in Lawrence Nees's reviews of the latter study in *Speculum* 72 (July 1997), pp. 846–50, and *Speculum* 78 (July 2003), pp. 925–28.
18. Mütherich 1996, pp. 106–16.
19. Horst 1996, pp. 83–84.
20. Ibid., pp. 45–46. He also discusses evident deviations from this pattern.
21. Wormald 1984, vol. 1, pp. 36–45; Melzak 1990, pp. 637–39; Horst 1996, pp. 27–29, 73–74.
22. Brussels 2007–8, pp. 77–79.
23. For a selection of late antique manuscript pages illustrated in color, see Weitzmann 1977. As noted above, the *Corpus Agrimensorum* contains an accomplished drawn portrait, but the various images of surveying techniques that appear throughout the text are fully painted.
24. On this phenomenon, see the helpful comments of Dormer 1991, pp. 168–85.
25. For a black-and-white facsimile of the Vatican Terence, see Jachmann 1929. The tenth-century Joshua roll (Vatican Library, Vatican City, Vat. Palat. Gr. 431) represents a Byzantine use of this style.
26. For example, an Anglo-Saxon Miscellany of ca. 1025–50 (British Library, London, Cotton Tiberius B.V Part 1); an astrological compilation of ca. 1122 (British Library, London, Cotton Tiberius C.I.); and cat. no. 13.
27. Paris 2007b, pp. 130–32.
28. On this point, see the useful comments of Carruthers 1990.
29. Nees 2001, pp. 230–31.
30. The classic study of Anglo-Saxon line drawing is Wormald 1952.

31. Higgitt 1979, p. 275.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 282.
34. Deshman 1995, pp. 35–37, 41–42, 166–68; see also the remarks in Heslop 2008, pp. 272–77.
35. Higgitt 1979, p. 279.
36. Noel 1996.
37. Gibson et al. 1992.
38. Omont 1906.
39. Noel 1995, pp. 53–54.
40. Alexander 1975, esp. p. 149; Deshman 1977, esp. pp. 158–62.
41. Temple 1976, no. 41.
42. Heslop 2008, p. 273.
43. Temple 1976, no. 66.
44. Dodwell 1971, pp. 649–51; Deshman 1995, pp. 135–46; and Dormer 1991, pp. 145–54. Other examples of mixed technique cited to support this view include fol. 118v in the Benedictional of Aethelwold (British Library, London, MS Add. 49598) and fol. 35r in the Bury Saint Edmund's Psalter (cat. no. 10). The former differs dramatically from all the other illuminations in the book and must surely be the result of an unfinished campaign of decoration. Regarding the latter, the gold and occasional touches of paint are distributed so erratically and often carelessly that we wonder if these might be later additions.
45. Gameson 2006, pp. 33–48.
46. Horst et al. 1996, cat. no. 32.
47. Ibid., no. 31.
48. Reilly 2006.
49. Ibid., p. 31.
50. Zaluska 1989.
51. Orofino 1994, figs. 600, 602, 603.
52. Cavallo et al. 1994.
53. Mundó 2002.
54. Sears 2006, n. 4.
55. Schmitz 1975.
56. The earlier inventory is in the Prüfening Tradition Book (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Prüfening KL 2, fols. 9v–12v); the other is in the Salomon Glossaries (cat. no. 23; fols. 5v–6v).
57. Elisabeth Klemm, "Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhunderts," in Regensburg 1987, pp. 39–46.
58. Regensburg 1987, cat. no. 13.
59. Ibid., cat. no. 16.
60. Cohen 2000.
61. There are many useful studies of medieval diagrams. Among them are Esmeijer 1978, Evans 1980, Caviness 1983, and Sears 1986.
62. Perhaps the most deluxe diagram in medieval manuscript painting is the zodiac man in the *Très Riches Heures of the Duke de Berry*; see Bober 1948.
63. Tufte 1983, p. 13.
64. Unterkircher and Demus 1973–74.
65. Found on p. 166 in the manuscript.
66. Unterkircher and Demus 1973–74, vol. 2, pp. 283–84.
67. Lasko 1994, pp. 180–83.
68. Köhler 1941.
69. Ibid., p. 70.
70. See, for instance, Kitzinger 1966 or, more recently, William D. Wixom, "Byzantine Art and the Latin West," in New York 1997, pp. 446–49.
71. In his commentary on the facsimile, Demus views the use of ink drawing as the specifically Western, and therefore "modern," contribution to the Antiphonary. He notes the occasional use of drawings in other contemporary manuscripts both near the Salzburg monastery and distant from it and sees it as part of an aesthetic closely linked to Hirsau reforms. See Unterkircher and Demus 1973–74, vol. 2, pp. 275–84.
72. Pippal 1998, no. 215.
73. Ibid., nos. 205, 217.
74. New York 1997, cat. no. 318.
75. Ibid., cat. no. 319; Scheler 1995, no. 13.
76. Gaborit-Chopin 1968.
77. Scheller 1995, no. 9.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., no. 11.
80. A new facsimile edited by Carl Barnes is forthcoming. For a guide to the vast bibliography, see Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* website.
81. Barnes 1981.
82. Fol. 1v. *Car en cest livre puet o[n] trover grant/consel de la grant force de maconerie [et] Et si troveres le force de le portraiture, les trais ensi come li ars/de iometrie le [com]ma[n]de [et] ensaigne.*
83. *en aucun liu, onq[ues] tel tor ne vi co[m]/est cele de loo[n].'*
84. *De tel maniere fu li epouture dun/sarrazin q[ue] io vi une fois* and *Ki velt faire les maizo[n] dune/ierloge ves ent ci une q[ue] io vi une fois*.
85. As such they express the characteristic medieval formulation in which artists do not present themselves as inventors, but as humble followers of precedent (which in no way denies their very powerful inventiveness). See Kessler 1988, p. 179, and Nees 1992.
86. Lewis 1987, pp. 188–92.
87. Givens 2005. See especially her insightful remarks in chapter 2, "The Testimony of Sight," pp. 37–81.
88. *Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si scivissem pingere*. The English translation is found in William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (London, 1990), p. 74.
89. As noted by Givens 2005, p. 23.
90. *per quantitatem hominis his protracti considerari potest quantitas bestie hic figurate*.
91. Suzanne Lewis (1987, p. 215), among others, concludes that Matthew's attention to the joints is an effort to refute the widespread claim, promulgated by bestiaries, that the elephant was "jointless."
92. See, for example, the elephant depicted on fol. 152v of vol. 2 of the *Chronica* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16).
93. Both the heraldic shields and the Veronica images are reproduced in color in Lewis 1987.
94. Dormer 1991, pp. 22–23.
95. Scheller 1987, pp. 20–21. See also Perkinson 2004.
96. As noted in Alexander 1975, p. 149.
97. Dormer 1991, pp. 103–32.
98. Alexander 1992, pp. 123–24; Scheller 1995, pp. 54–61; Jenni 1987.
99. Hunt 1961, p. XV.
100. For a discussion of the *suo manu* clause in artists' contracts, see O'Malley, 2005, pp. 90–96.
101. In the collection of the Kerkfabriek, Maaseik; London 1991, cat. no. 143.

CATALOGUE

1. *Corbie Psalter*

Corbie, France, early 9th century
144 folios, 29.2 × 18.5 cm (11½ × 7 5/16 in.), 19th-century binding
Text: Gallican psalter; Psalm 151; canticles; Athanasian creed; litanies, in Latin
Decoration: 156 historiated or ornamental initials, 1 at start of every psalm and canticle
Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 18C

Provenance: Corbie, 11th century; monastery library dispersed after French Revolution to Bibliothèque Municipale, Amiens (now Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole), 1810.

Selected Literature: Corbie 1962, pp. 249–62; Desobry 1974; Kuder 1977; Kuder 1993; Kahsnitz 2004; Kuder 2004, p. 114, no. 34; Bessette 2005, pp. 4–6, 59–142, figs. 1–29; Paris 2007b, pp. 128–30, cat. no. 22 (with bibl.); Amiens Library website.

In the Corbie Psalter the opening letter of every psalm and canticle is distinguished by a decorated initial, making it, along with the Utrecht and Stuttgart Psalters, one of the most fully illustrated books of its kind produced in Europe in the ninth century. Though the manuscript has suffered from trimming and other damage, the high degree of the artists' skill as draftsmen is apparent throughout. The illustrations are characterized by considerable diversity of approach. Some of the initials are ornamental and comprise birds, animals, or interlace, while others consist of or contain human figures (see fol. 137v, illustrated). The subjects range from unprecedented portraits of monastic readers—the volume's intended audience—in the psalms, to familiar biblical narratives in the Supernumerary Psalm (fol. 123v, frontispiece) and canticles (fol. 137r, fig. 3). Despite this variety, the illustrations sound a consistent theme, with many providing a visual gloss on the acts of reading and prayer. All demonstrate remarkable inventiveness with respect to the text.

The Corbie Psalter was meant for study and personal devotion rather than for use in the liturgy, and its images are based in the monastic tradition of *lectio divina*, or divine reading, the goal of which was to achieve spiritual knowledge and union with the divine. The psalms—ancient songs of praise, thanks, and petition—were challenging to illustrate because their language is poetic and they consist of images rather than stories. Furthermore, the psalms are spoken by an "I," a "you," and a "he" who are rarely identified. In illustrating the text, the artists responsible for the Corbie Psalter made a sustained attempt to visualize the speaker and the spoken to of the psalms. The subject of many of the illustrations is the relationship of the speaker—a stand-in for the reader—to the text. These illustrations helped



Fol. 137v, Initial *T* of hymn *Te deum laudamus*



Fol. 81r, Initial *J* of Psalm 99



Fol. 138v, Initials for canticle *Gloria in excelsis*



Fol. 67v, Initial *V* of Psalm 76

the reader to understand himself as the speaker of the psalms, recognize the text as the words of God, and recognize God in the words of the text.

Many of the illustrations suggest that the ideal reader is actively engaged with the text. Sometimes the speaker's body forms the opening letter of the psalm, indicating a complete submersion of the self in the text such that the speaker becomes an active part in it and a demonstration of its words (fols. 25r, 29v, 81r, illustrated, 108v). The illustrations also visualize the unseen being to whom the prayer is directed, and the word for "God" frequently contains an image of God (fols. 7r, 18v, 22v, 63r, 82r). Several drawings show contact between the speaker and the divine presence who is addressed. In the illustration for Psalm 76 (fol. 67v, illustrated), for example, the speaker of the psalm kneels to the left and twists back to the right to face an angel who, in turn, twists around to face him. The angel stands on the psalmist's feet and touches the fingers of its right hand to his lips. Together they make up the *V* of *Voce (mea)* (I cried to the Lord with my voice). The *O* of *voce*, visible beneath the angel's wing, seems to lift it up, suggesting that it is raised by the breath of the voice that recites the text—an eloquent reminder that the written word is also the spoken word. Here and throughout the Corbie Psalter illustrations the artist's goal is to animate the text and represent the transformation of the words into the action they describe. In this example, the psalm's emphasis on the speaker's voice, his spiritual anguish, and his soul's movement toward God are translated into the image of the psalmist twisting his body in the act of prayer, with the angel's touch serving as a sign that God is listening to his prayer.

The speaker's interactions with the written word often provide an example of ideal prayer. The *G* of the canticle *Gloria in excelsis* (fol. 138v, illustrated) contains a full-length figure of Christ within a mandorla; he is shown raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing as he faces the text. The similar shapes of Christ's ovoid mandorla and the elongated letter *O* of *Gloria*, held up by the man who forms the descender of the *G*, suggests an equivalence of the image of Christ and the words of the text. This collapsing of the distinction between image and text conveys to the reader the possibility of encountering God in the psalms. The man holding the *O* lifts his face toward the text and opens his mouth in song. Presumably he is singing the very canticle inscribed on the page, and in this activity he not only mirrors the reader of the text but also presents a model for him. The singer of the canticle is shown to have an intimate relationship with the words of the song, in which he is completely entwined: the lower part of the *G* wraps around his waist to support him as he touches the body of the letter from below with his right hand. With this hand he also touches the foot of Christ that extends beyond the boundary of the letter. The suggestion is that to sing is to make an offering and that the act of prayer makes Christ present. The image imbues the psalm with the presence of Christ by placing him within the text. It shows that what the person praying sings of—God—is found in the words of the prayer. LB

2. *Four Gospels*

Northeast France, second half of 9th century
195 folios, 24.5 × 21 cm (9⅝ × 8¼ in.), 15th- and 19th-century binding
Text: 4 Gospels, in Latin
Decoration: 2 full-page Evangelist portraits; 4 incipit pages; 1 (unfinished) drawing
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M. 640

Provenance: Purchased from Rodd by Bertram, fourth earl of Ashburnham, January 21, 1847; purchased from earl of Ashburnham collection by H. Yates Thompson, 1897; his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 3, 1919, lot 24, to Quaritch for J. P. Morgan (1867–1943); to Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1924.

Selected Literature: Freeman 1957; Berkowitz 1968, p. 33, cat. no. 55, figs. A–C; Horst et al. 1996, pp. 119 (in essay by Florentine Mütherich) and 230–31, cat. no. 27; Nees 2001, p. 223, fig. 16, p. 237 n. 93; Florentine Mütherich, "The Gospel Book W.4 of the Walters Art Gallery and Its Place in the Freising Scriptorium," in Mütherich 2004, p. 511.



Fol. 101r, Incipit page for Gospel of Luke

This beautiful two-page spread displays a monochrome aesthetic embellished with the luxury of gold. It comes from a Gospel book full of anomalies and inconsistencies that has been dated from the early ninth to the tenth century and identified by various scholars as originating in Reims, Beauvais, Liège, Saint-Denis, northeast France, and Lotharingia.[1]

On folio 100v (illustrated), the Evangelist Luke sits rapt, consumed by the fever of writing his Gospel, inspired by his symbol, the winged, haloed ox unfurling a scroll above him. He sits in front of a cloth of honor and writes in a codex supported by a classical lectern. His halo, lectern, and footstool are painted with gold over a green ground, while the rest of the drawing is executed in brown ink and wash. The page is alive with the passion of the figure, expressed in his large staring eyes, his hunched posture, and his huge hand holding a pen.

The incipit (fol. 101r, illustrated) displays high refinement in its design and execution. The letter *Q* of *Quoniam* (abbreviated *qm*) is composed of two thin gold bands, outlined in red, filled at a few intervals with small panels of interlace rendered in reserved vellum against brown panels. Inside the circle of the *Q* is a symmetrically organized knotted rinceau. The words following the *quoniam* are written in fine classical Roman lapidary capitals. The composition is restrained and elegant, judicious in its use of ornament.

The difference between the two pages reflects the classical distinction between figural and ornamental art. However, the two pages are united in their palette and their adherence to the tradition of Reims illustration. The choice of monochrome drawing rather than a fully painted image derives from the Utrecht Psalter (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, MS. 32).[2] The same type of inspired Evangelist can be found in the Ebbo Gospels, especially that manuscript's Matthew (fig. 5): both share the bent posture, curly hair, footstool, lectern with ornamental column, and winged Evangelist symbol holding an unfurling scroll.[3] Similarly, the *quoniam* of the present, Morgan manuscript and the one in Ebbo are related in that both are structured of two gold bands with panels of reserve interlace between them, display rinceaux in the bowl of the *q*, and use Roman capitals for the letters that follow.

The present manuscript has been compared to the Loisel Gospels (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 17968),[4] which is known to have belonged to the church at Beauvais,[5] but apart from iconographic correspondences, the relationship is not striking. A different argument for an origin in Beauvais is the insertion on folio 6v in the Morgan manuscript of the name Guntarius, which is similar to Guntharius, an abbot of Saint Lucien in Beauvais.[6] The argument placing it in Liège is based on a comparison with several tenth-century manuscripts from that city;[7] however, they differ from the present volume in quality, especially in their incipit pages, which are much less carefully constructed and less restrained in design than those in the Morgan example.

The eminent paleographer E. A. Lowe said it would be a "crime to assign to the tenth century" the very fine Caroline minuscule of the Morgan manuscript's text pages; and, he asked,



Fol. 100v, Evangelist Luke

what else so fine was done in Liège in the tenth century.[8] It might be significant that elements of the Gospel text are related to features in Celtic manuscripts such as the Book of Armagh (Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS 52) (a volume with line drawings, although of a different tradition), and that the glossators use the Irish type of correction mark, technically termed *signe de renvoie*.[9]

The Morgan manuscript has irregularities in its collation that correspond to key decorated portions.[10] It lacks canon tables, although it has Gospel prefaces. Only the present opening shows the usual arrangement of Evangelist portrait on the verso, facing his incipit on the recto: in John the portrait is on the verso of the same leaf as the incipit, there is no portrait for Mark, and Matthew's portrait (an unfinished sketch) is separated by eight pages from his incipit.[11] A change in text hands has caused at least one paleographer to assign the first ten folios to the early ninth century and the rest to about 900,[12] separate dates frequently repeated in the literature. These complications increase the difficulty of localizing the manuscript.[13] Yet in the end the fineness of the drawing on the two folios illustrated here tends to support its relation to ninth-century Reims, and its embrace of drawing in a book embellished with gold.

WAS

1. For Reims, see E. A. Lowe, 1934, note in file at Morgan Library. For Beauvais, see Meta Harrsen, 1953, notes in file at Morgan Library. For Liège, see Wilhelm Köhler in added note in Greene and Harrsen 1934, p. 73. For Saint-Denis, see Freeman 1957, p. 61. For northeast France, see Rosenthal and McGurk 2006, p. 195 n. 48. For Lotharingia, see H. Swarzenski 1949, p. 77.
2. Utrecht Psalter 1982–84 (facsimile).
3. While Luke in the Morgan manuscript is shown in front of a cloth of honor, the Ebbo figure is located in a landscape. However, the other fully realized Evangelist portrait in the Morgan volume (fol. 158r) is placed in a sketched landscape in the Utrecht Psalter/Ebbo Gospel tradition.
4. Dorothy Miner believed the similarities between miniatures in the Morgan manuscript and Loisel to be so great that they might be attributed to the same artist; see Baltimore 1949, p. 3, cat. no. 5, pl. II. The Loisel Gospels are illustrated on the Mandragore website.
5. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, catalogues the Loisel Gospels as from Reims, but notes that the manuscript is associated with Beauvais through saints named in it and because its sixteenth-century owner was a resident of Beauvais. In Horst et al. 1996, p. 230, the Loisel Gospels are mentioned as "known to have belonged to the church of Beauvais."
6. Meta Harrsen notes at Morgan Library, 1953.
7. Köhler, see note 1.
8. Lowe, see note 1.
9. Harrsen, see note 1.
10. Freeman 1957. This article is the only full codicological treatment of the Morgan manuscript in print. It contains an excellent analysis of the collation and its implications for the decoration.
11. The drawing in the Matthew Gospel is so unfinished that it defies conclusive identification. The subject may not even be an Evangelist, as the cap he wears is not typical for such a figure.
12. Frederick M. Carey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, examined the manuscript at the Morgan in 1934. Based on photographs he had been sent, he had originally dated and localized the manuscript to Reims, in the "great period" of the archbishopric of Hincmar. When he saw the actual manuscript at the Morgan, he distinguished the earlier and later hands. From notes and letters at the Morgan.
13. Nees 2001, pp. 223, 237 n. 93. In the footnote the Morgan example is referred to as a Getty manuscript but its intended reference to Morgan M. 640 is clear. Nees provides an excellent summary of the difficulties associated with the precise localization and internal disruption of the manuscript and notes that the connections with Beauvais and Liège are "liturgical and/or through provenance" rather than based on convincing stylistic or documentary evidence. He associates it with the Reims group, loosely defined.

3. *Revelatio Baronti*

Reims, France, its region, or elsewhere with strong Reims influence, mid-9th century, possibly 850s
23 folios, 16 × 12 cm (6⁵⁄₁₆ × 4¾ in.)
Text: *Revelatio* or *Visio Baronti* (Revelation or Vision by the monk Barontus), in Latin
Decoration: 5 drawings
National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Cod. Lat. Oct. I.5

PROVENANCE: Library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris; acquired by Peter Dubrowsky, 1791; entered Imperial Library, Saint Petersburg (now National Library of Russia), 1805.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Levison 1910, pl. I (fols. 1v, 10v–11r, 12v) (here the critical edition of Latin text); Staerk 1910, vol. 2, pls. XLII–LIII; Curry 1992, pp. 6–8; Hen 1996 (on the text); Bischoff 1998–2004, vol. 2, p. 87, no. 2234 (*s.v.* Leningrad); Contreni 2003; Nees 2003.

Visions of a journey to the afterlife and the next world, antecedents of Dante's *Divine Comedy,* were already an important literary genre during the early medieval period. Among such texts only this one remarkable little manuscript was illustrated. Small in format and thin, more a booklet than a book, it is the earliest extant Christian work with images of an otherworld journey. The text tells the story of the monk Barontus in the monastery of Longoretus (modern Lonrey in western France), who is said to have fallen ill suddenly in 678 or 679. Upon awakening from a deathlike state, he told his monastic brethren of his journey to the next world. There he was accused of various sins, assaulted by demons but ultimately reprieved by Saint Peter, who sent him back to the world of the living to reform himself, in particular by offering alms. This moralizing text became popular beginning in the ninth century, existing in roughly two dozen manuscripts.

The Saint Petersburg manuscript is written in an accomplished Caroline minuscule, almost delicate, and very upright, in the manner associated with the great artistic center of Reims. The initials are consistent in motif if not in quality with those in Reims work, with which the manuscript shares the use of rustic capitals. The only evidence related to the early history of the book places it in Reims: it seems to have been copied directly in an early manuscript from that city.[1] Its lively pen drawings are



Fol. 1v, Barontus carried to the gate of heaven by an angel

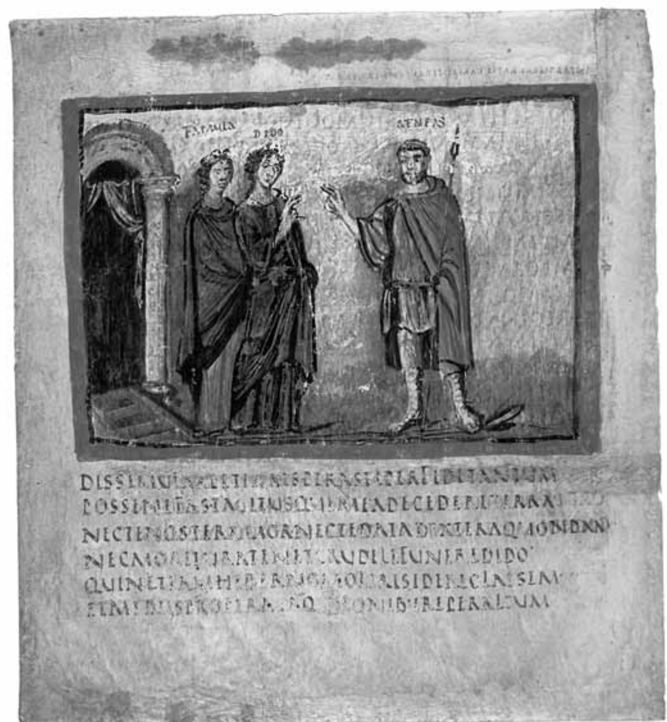


Fig. 3.1. Aeneas and Dido, fol. 36v, Vatican Vergil, Rome, 1st quarter of 5th century. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Cod. Lat. 3225



Fols. 8v–9r, Archangel Raphael hearing of Barontus's arrival and then informing Saint Peter

not a feature exclusive to Reims, but the animated style of the five miniatures, really tinted drawings rather than paintings, is typical of that center and its neighboring region. Although the figures are scarcely comparable in verve to the best examples of the Utrecht Psalter style, they are visibly products of an accomplished artist. The miniatures depict Barontus carried to the gate of heaven by an angel (fol. 1v, illustrated); the archangel Raphael hearing of his arrival and informing Saint Peter of it (fols. 8v–9r, illustrated); Barontus dragged by demons before Peter; and, finally, Peter driving the demons away.

The most likely precedent for their iconography is, surprisingly, in a classical illustrated manuscript, a Vergil now in the Vatican library, that was kept at Tours during the ninth century. Only a fragment of the original remains, but more scenes of Aeneas's underworld journey in Book VI are preserved than any other parts of the text, suggesting that these portions in particular were studied and highly valued. One of the Vergil miniatures (fig. 3.1) depicts two confronted figures whose hand gestures are emphasized to represent speech in a manner comparable to that used to show Peter's conversation with the angel on folio 9r.[2] In addition, Peter holds his keys in the same way Aeneas holds his spear.

A book as strange and learned as the present one was very likely produced for a personal reason. Whether or not the idea originated with the patron or the artist, this was probably a private work. The patron and intended recipient are unknown, but since one important figure named in the seventh-century text was called Ebo, it is tempting to suspect that there is some connection with the powerful and controversial Archbishop Ebo of Reims (d. 851; r. 816–44), who was replaced by the even more powerful and controversial Hincmar, who served until 882.

LN

1. There is only one reason to doubt its connection with Reims: the cryptic statement in the posthumously published notes of the great palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff suggesting an origin "probably in western France" but providing no explanation or comparison for this attribution. One may wonder whether Bischoff meant to suggest western Francia, that is, the entire Carolingian realm, of which Reims was a leading center.
2. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Cod. Lat. 3225, fol. 36v; see Wright 1993, p. 130, fig. 24.

4. *Pauline Epistles*

Saint Gall, Switzerland, second half of 9th century
414 pages, 21 × 16 cm (8¼ × 6⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
Text: Pauline letters; *De dialecta* and *De rhetorica* by Alcuin; *Peri hermeneias* by Apuleius of Madaura (?), in Latin
Decoration: 1 full-page drawing; decorated initials
Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Cod. 64

Provenance: Monastery of Saint Gall since it was created.

Selected Literature: Stettiner 1895–1905, vol. 2 (Tafelband), pp. 90–93; Merton 1912, pp. 60–64, 84, pl. 78; Goldschmidt 1928, p. 60, pl. 78; Boeckler 1951, p. 41; Hubert et al. 1968, fig. 161; Beer 1980, p. 56; Eleen 1982, p. 69, fig. 118; Euw 1999, p. 189; Schmuki et al. 2000, no. 48; Saint Gall library website.

All the passions of a heated exchange find visual expression in this drawing of Saint Paul preaching to the Jews and Gentiles of Rome (p. 12, illustrated), the sole image in a collection of Pauline epistles produced at the monastery of Saint Gall. Paul stands before a tight cluster of expressive faces and gesticulating hands, a restless crowd in uncoordinated movement. In spite of the agitated line that defines his drapery and the bold splotches of ink that mark out his beard, Paul, with his feet firmly planted on a dais, projects composure in the face of his agitated audience. Indeed, the accompanying inscriptions underscore Paul's role as peacemaker, who restores concord among the bickering children of Rebecca's womb (*reddens concordes rebecc[a]e ventre frequentes*).

This image complements the text it followed in the manuscript: the introduction to a commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans.[1] The commentary, attributed to the early medieval monk and teacher Pelagius (ca. 354–ca. 420/440),[2] centers on the Jews and Gentiles of Rome, who converted to Christianity in Paul's day. Pelagius tells us that the two groups engaged in an "arrogant dispute" over which one was more deserving of Christian salvation. Only Paul's intervention and insistence that they were equal in the judgment of God put an end to their discord. Later Pauline images would stress the saint's role as a crusader against heathens, who are often explicitly depicted as Jews.[3] Here, however, no visual clues distinguish Jews from Gentiles; only the inscription (*Judei et Gentes*) makes clear the mixed religious heritage of the audience. The Saint Gall drawing shares with other Carolingian images of Paul, such as those from the Bible of Charles the Bald (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS lat. 1, fol. 386v)[4] and particularly that of the Bible of San Paolo Fuori le Mura (Rome, fol. 30 [cccvi]v),[5] an emphasis on the saint's gifts as a preacher, underscored by the animated reactions of his listeners.

The restless line this artist favors lends itself particularly well to a scene of energetic dispute, but it makes its appearance quite successfully in other contexts as well. The artist who produced the Saint Gall image was also responsible for illustrations in a number of manuscripts attributed to the Lake Constance region if not to the scriptorium of Saint Gall itself. A homiliary now in Basel (Universitätsbibliothek, B.IV. 26),[6] a Prudentius manuscript now in Bern (Burgerbibliothek, MS 264),[7] and a martyrology in the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Reg. Lat. 438)[8] all include figures with the distinctive paunch, stern visage, and single wavy eyebrow seen in the Saint Gall drawing. Some of these images have washes of color; others rely exclusively on line. Although many scholars have noted the close relationships among these manuscripts, some have been reluctant to consider the Saint Paul image a work of the ninth century—many writers date it to the tenth century, even while acknowledging that the Bern and Vatican manuscripts are much earlier. The most compelling evidence for a date for the present manuscript in the second half of the ninth century is its clear relationship to the Vatican manuscript, a copy of the *Martyrology* of Wandalbert von Prüm. This martyrology, which contains a dedication image and a notable series of calendar images, all with the characteristic features of the Saint Gall artist's hand, was likely made for either Louis the German (r. 843–76) or Karl III (r. 876–87) since an inscription addresses a king (*rex*).[9] (The original copy of the martyrology was dedicated to the Emperor Lothar and addressed him as "Caesar.") The Pauline epistles therefore are comfortably situated within the extraordinarily productive period at the Saint Gall scriptorium under the leadership of the abbots Grimald (841–72) and Hartmut (872–83).

MH

1. The commentary is found on pp. 6–9, and the drawing appears on p. 12. A *lectio* was later added on pp. 10–11.
2. In English translation in Bruyn 1993, pp. 57–58.
3. See Eleen 1982, pp. 68–72.
4. Dutton and Kessler 1997, fig. 11.
5. Eleen 1982, fig. 7.
6. *Handschriften* 1969, fig. 3.
7. This artist is one of several who contributed to the copiously illustrated Bern manuscript; see Homburger 1962, pp. 136–58.
8. Schramm and Mütherich 1962, no. 36.
9. Bischoff 1950, pp. 30ff.



P. 12, Saint Paul preaching to the Jews and Gentiles of Rome

5. *Book of Maccabees I*

Saint Gall, Switzerland, second half of 9th–early 10th century; completed in Reichenau, Germany, after ca. 925
211 folios, 22.5 × 18.5 cm (8⅞ × 7⁵⁄₁₆ in.), 16th-century binding
Text: *Book of Maccabees I*; *Epitome institutorum* by Vegetius; other texts related to warfare (15th-century additions), in Latin
Decoration: 30 full-page drawings; 3 incipit pages; decorated initials
Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Cod. Perizoni F.17

Provenance: Werden, 10th–11th century; Cassiusstift Münsterstift, Bonn, ca. 1580; Franciscus Modius (1556–1597); Johannes de Wit, 1701; bequeathed by Jacob Perizonius to Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, 1701.

Selected Literature: Merton 1912, pp. 64–66, pls. LV–LXI; Dunbabin 1984; Pächt 1986, p. 30, figs. 25, 26; Leiden 1987–88, no. 106; Horst et al. 1996, cat. no. 25; Euw 1999, pp. 190–92, pl. 90; Hoffmann 2004, vol. 1, pp. 255–56.

Few early medieval manuscripts display as sustained an engagement with the spectacle of warfare as this work from the monastery of Saint Gall. Almost every one of its thirty full-page pen drawings depicts soldiers in the heat of battle. The book dispenses with the heroics of individuals, presenting war emphatically as a group venture, its primary trait not bloodiness but anonymity.

The drawings accompany the *First Book of Maccabees*, an apocryphal text that relates events later celebrated on the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah. These stories found resonance among Christians in the early Middle Ages in part because of a commentary written in the early ninth century by the influential monk and intellectual Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856). The text recounts the successful military efforts, led by the Maccabee family in the second century B.C., to gain the independence of Judaea from the Hellenistic kings who forbade the practice of Judaism. Hrabanus not only elaborated on the historical context of the story of the Maccabees but also drew parallels between their struggles and those of the Christian church in the face of its enemies.[1]

The Leiden *Maccabees* offers the ancient tale in a contemporary guise, updating the soldiers' uniforms to medieval mail armor and helmets and locating the conflict among medieval fortresses. Narrative elements of the Maccabees story—such as a scene of King Antiochus giving orders from his throne (fol. 9r) and Judaeans offering thanks for victory (fol. 16r)—make occasional appearances, but most of the illustrations show compressed clusters of soldiers on foot or on horseback in the thick of combat. In the opening on folios 45v–46r (illustrated) the battle is waged across the gutter of the book, with one corps of cavalrymen advancing on retreating forces. One can glean the dynamics of the battle from the lineup of heads alone. The horses in both groups may all move in the same direction but the divided attention of the soldiers on the page on the right, in contrast to the disciplined uniform focus of the troops on the left, makes plain the predicament of those in flight. The artist favored a strong play of lines, eschewing all forms of modeling. The insistent repetition of horses, shields, helmets, and spears, along with the cursory evocation of soldiers deep within the formation, gives powerful expression to the notion of an army as a tight, faceless organization. Only occasionally do the artists draw our attention to the fate of a single combatant, as in the upside-down soldier on folio 22r who has lost his helmet as he topples from his horse (illustrated). It seems fitting that a contemporary copy of a late Roman military manual, *On the Military Sciences* by Vegetius, should form part of the same volume.

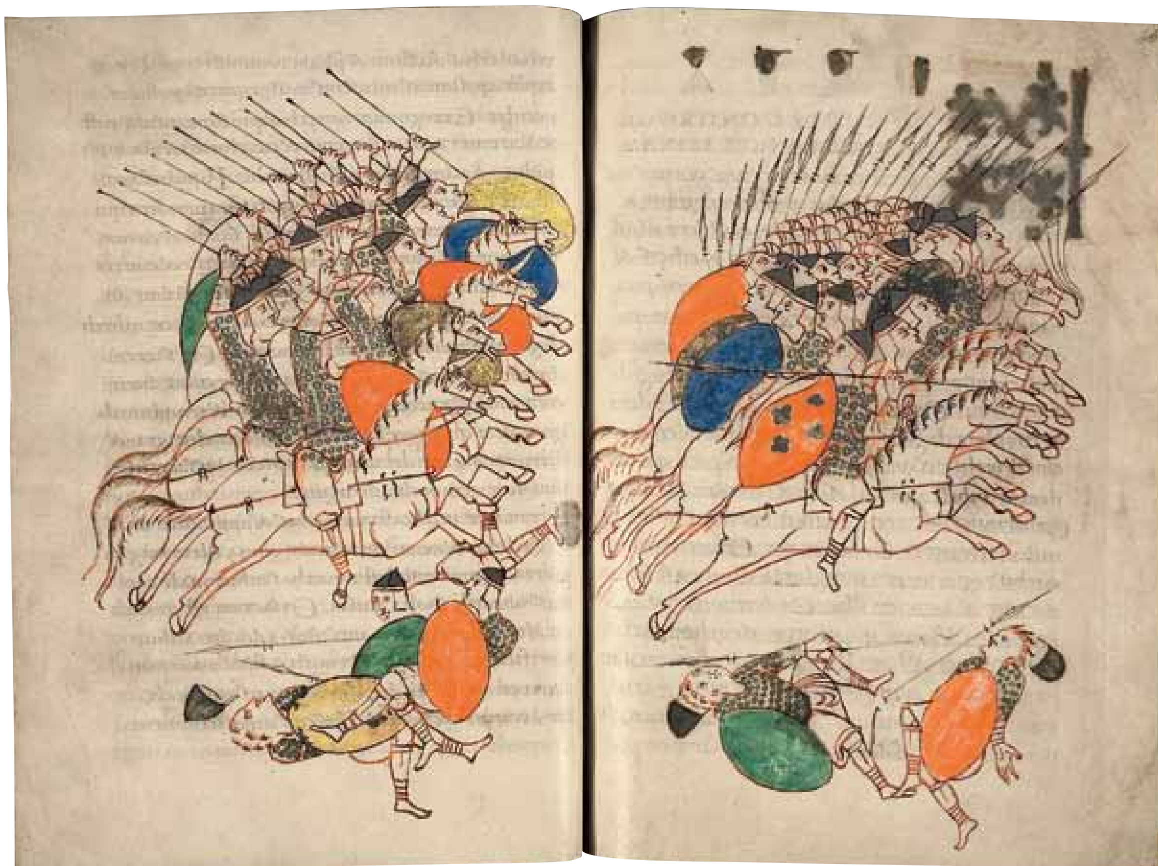
Inevitably, the Leiden *Maccabees* has been compared to another manuscript associated with late Carolingian Saint Gall, the Golden Psalter (Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Cod. 22).[2] There the poetry of the psalms, usually illustrated with devotional images inspired by the words of the songs, provides the occasion for scenes from the life of David, the psalms' author. The military exploits of David's general Joab receive special emphasis in the Golden Psalter, with two pages devoted to scenes of battle superficially similar to those in the Maccabees manuscript.

It is tempting to understand the emphasis on warfare in the Maccabees book as specifically keyed to the many Hungarian raids endured by the region around Saint Gall throughout the early tenth century. Medieval chroniclers even describe an attack in 926 on the monastery itself. It may make more sense, however, to consider both the Maccabees text and the Golden Psalter against the backdrop of a more generalized reverence for military prowess. Recent scholarship in other fields has drawn attention to the central role of warfare in Carolingian culture, tracing its impact on aspects of life ranging from the economy to education, from politics to literature.[3]

Although one artist seems responsible for most of the drawings in the *Book of Maccabees*, four images clearly betray another hand, that of an artist sympathetic to the aesthetic of the principal illustrator or illustrators. In his 1912 study of the Saint Gall manuscript illumination, Adolf Merton noted the insertion of several pages with initials decorated in a style associated with late tenth-century manuscripts from the nearby monastery at Reichenau.[4] We know from medieval sources that some of the books from Saint Gall were transferred to the Reichenau monastery for safekeeping just before the 926 invasion; Merton proposed that this manuscript was begun just prior to that invasion, taken to the neighboring monastery in an unfinished state, and ultimately completed there. Anton von Euw has gone further, suggesting that the transfer brought about a reconceptualization of the manuscript: Reichenau artists elevated a relatively



Fols. 21v–22r, Battle scenes



Fols. 45v–46r, Battle scene

humble text by adding gilding, silver, and even bright touches of paint to many of the drawings in order to create a palette much closer to that of their own scriptorium.[5] Even if we accept von Euw's suggestion, it is still possible to question Merton's dating of the earlier drawings to about 926 and entertain the possibility that the Maccabees text, like the Pauline epistles (cat. no. 4), bears witness to the flourishing of graphic illustration at Saint Gall in the second half of the ninth century.

MH

1. Dunbabin 1984.
2. Eggenberger 1987.
3. Goldberg 2006, pp. 11–12, 38–42; Chazelle 2004.
4. Merton 1912, pp. 64–66.
5. Euw 1999, pp. 190–92.

6. *Corvey Gospels*

Lower Saxony, Germany, probably Corvey, late 10th century
166 folios, 32.1 × 22.3 cm (12¾ × 8¹¹⁄₁₆ in.), 1966 binding
Text: 4 Gospels, in Latin
Decoration: 6 full-page drawings; 12 decorated canon tables; 2 Evangelist portraits; 4 incipit pages (with 16th-century overpainting); decorated initials
Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 16.1 Aug. 2°

PROVENANCE: Speyer, 15th century; Worms, late 16th century; purchased by Provost Eberhard von Weihe, Braunschweig, 1596; acquired by Herzog August, 1630–31; Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Corvey 1966, cat. no. 172; Milde 1972, no. 23; Bauer 1977, vol. 1, pp. 280–97, vol. 2, pp. 114–23; Ahrenhövel 1980; Wolfenbüttel 1989, pp. 73–75; Hildesheim 1993, cat. no. VI–67; Winterer 2008.



Fol. 8r, Annunciation

The Corvey Gospels volume allots six full pages to ink drawings showing scenes from the Nativity and youth of Christ. The inclusion of this much narrative imagery in a Gospel book of this early date is unusual, as is the appearance of so many drawings in a book with numerous painted pages. The finest drawings in the cycle betray the hand of an artist accomplished in the discipline; his skills are particularly lavish in his attention to drapery, especially in its heavy contours, frequently underscored by deep shadows, which suggest garments of significant volume and weight.

The figural images in the cycle display curious inconsistencies in quality, leading Peter Lasko and other scholars to suggest that at least two artists collaborated on the volume.[1] Despite Lasko's laudable attempts to divide the oeuvre between two hands, it remains difficult to delineate the division of labor. Certainly, one finds several facial and body types: some figures, all expressionist curves with heads that lean markedly forward so as not to break the concave curve of the chest and shoulder; others, with stocky, upright bodies, rounded heads shown full-face, and drapery rendered with a light touch. Both types were carried out by accomplished artists, but there is also a notably weaker hand in evidence, one that relies upon dull repetition to create rows of angels or locks of hair. That a mixture of styles and levels of artistry appears on several pages raises a host of questions: were there three artists working together from the start? Or were there only two collaborators, one of whom occasionally lapsed in the exercise of his craft? Are we to understand the images as more sequential than collaborative in their execution? Might some of the drawings have been left unfinished



Fol. 16r, Presentation in the Temple

midpage, thereby requiring one or more artists to complete them at a later time? We know that the book was never finished: it contains only two of the required four Evangelist portraits and has numerous blank pages that seem to have been intended for images rather than text. The additive nature of several of the drawings, particularly when considered together with the finest examples, which are notably elegant in their composition, suggests that some pages were produced piecemeal rather than conceived as a whole.

The book exhibits other peculiarities as well in terms of the organization and order of the drawings. A set of canon tables divides the six images into two equal parts. The first two images, the Annunciation (fol. 8r, illustrated) and the Visitation (fol. 8v), conform to the conventions of a Nativity cycle, but the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 9r) appears where one might expect a Nativity scene in the Bethlehem stable. The second set begins with the Presentation in the Temple (fol. 16r, illustrated), followed by the Baptism of Christ (fol. 18r), and concludes with a step backward chronologically, the Visit of the Three Magis (fol. 18v). Recent scholarship has suggested these scenes were not intended to be construed as a chronological sequence, like imagery in eleventh-century Ottonian manuscripts, but were meant to be seen as groupings of thematically related images linked to local liturgy.[2] Perhaps artists and patrons were working in uncharted terrain here, developing a new program of illustration to fit a specific need. It is also conceivable that the process of illumination was extremely protracted—after all the project was never completed, as we know. The plans for the initial program of images may have been lost or changed as subsequent artists or patrons devised schemes that made use of the blank pages and fragmentary images they received.

The unfinished nature of the book also raises the possibility that the drawings were intended to be painted but never were. We know that the artist responsible for some of the best drawings in the Christological cycle worked comfortably with paint. He not only contributed to the creation of the painted Evangelist portraits elsewhere in the Corvey Gospels but also combined drawing with painting in a fragment from a Sacramentary now in Leipzig (Städtische Bibliotheken, Cod. CXC Rep. I 4° 57).[3] The figures there are embellished with small touches of color and silhouetted against fully painted backgrounds. The five Crucifixion and post-Resurrection scenes of the Abdinghof Gospels (Hessische Landesbibliothek, Kassel, MS theol. 2° 60),[4] include full-page uncolored ink drawings by this same artist, suggesting that drawn images without paint could suffice as decoration for a Gospel book. In the sixteenth century many of the pages in the Corvey Gospels were repainted to varying degrees, but these six drawings were left untouched, testimony to their enduring appeal as examples of accomplished draftsmanship.

MH

1. Wolfenbüttel 1989, pp. 73–75.
2. Winterer 2008.
3. Corvey 1966, cat. no. 171, pl. 164; Hildesheim 1993, cat. no VI–68.
4. Corvey 1966, cat. no. 173, pl. 167.

7. *Saint Dunstan's Classbook*

England, probably Glastonbury, ca. 950
47 folios, 27 × 18 cm (9⅝ × 7¹⁄₁₆ in.), modern binding
Text: *Ars de verbo*, Book I, by Eutyches; *Homily on the Finding of the True Cross*; *Liber commonei*; *Ars amatoria*, Book I, by Ovid, in Latin, Greek, and Old English, with additions in Latin, Old Breton, Old Welsh, and Old English
Decoration: 1 full-page drawing; decorated initials
Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Auct. F. 4.32

PROVENANCE: In 1248 catalogue at Glastonbury; Thomas Allen (1540–1632); donated by Allen to Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1601.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Wormald 1952; Hunt 1961; Temple 1976; Deshman 1977; London 1984, cat. no. 31; Budny 1992; Manuscripts at Oxford website.

Few medieval drawings have known the acclaim and devotion enjoyed by this work, long believed to have been executed and signed by the beloved Anglo-Saxon saint Dunstan (909–988).[1] Though recent scholarship suggests that Dunstan's involvement may have been overstated, this image—among the earliest surviving example of a full-page Anglo-Saxon drawing—nevertheless offers powerful testimony to the value and high quality of tenth-century English drawings.

This drawing (fol. 1r, illustrated), added to the originally blank recto of a ninth-century Latin grammatical text, depicts a nimbed Christ holding a scepter and tablet or book, a prostrate monk at his side. With broad sloping shoulders, imposing hands, and substantial thighs, this Christ appears monumental in conception and scale, particularly when compared with the humble and accordingly smaller monk kneeling beside him. Christ's solidity is offset by the gentle tilt of his head and faraway gaze, an ethereal counterpoint to his otherwise weighty form. Through a series of V-folds and loose, sweeping lines the draftsman suggests a heavy and voluminous mantle and tunic, falling in elegant cascades and enlivened by an errant strip of cloth that



Fol. 1r, Christ with Saint Dunstan

playfully draws attention to a hole in the parchment. The tonsured monk, who is identified by the inscription above him as Saint Dunstan,[2] wears a hooded robe and kneels upon a steep incline. With its constricted contours and tight drapery folds, the monk's image seems to be an afterthought, a little figure of little consequence squeezed into a spare corner.

The differences in the scale and volume of the two figures have led some scholars to suggest that they were executed at different moments. Mildred Budny's characteristically thorough study of the drawing, based on forensic examination of the image and careful analysis of the accompanying texts, confirms that the work was indeed carried out in stages but that the two figures were likely drawn at the same time. Her conclusions imply a single draftsman attuned to the differences in status that an accumulation of visual cues can convey.[3] Additions in light brown ink by later hands (noticeable particularly on Christ's face, transforming a youthful man into a bearded mature one), and drypoint (a doodled "correction" that adds Christ's missing feet below the groundline) demonstrate that viewers felt free to respond to and enhance the original work long after it was completed. By contrast, the text inscribed above the prostrate monk and the numerous additions in red lead pigment, both of which Budny and other scholars attribute to Dunstan himself, suggest an intriguing collaboration between the famous monk and the original draftsman.

It is certainly possible that Dunstan commissioned the drawing or at least consulted with the artist about it. His contributions—an enlivening of the monochrome line with color and a clarifying verse written in the first person—are similar to some of the glosses found in other parts of the book, generally thought to be by Dunstan as well:[4] they indicate a confident interaction with the original work, one worthy of recording in a permanent way, thus asserting a form of ownership. Those proprietary gestures ultimately sanctified the image, in time rendering it something akin to a relic, a lasting remembrance of a saint whose interest in correcting and adorning books was celebrated by medieval biographers.[5] MH

1. The late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century inscription on the top claims the image is by the hand of Dunstan: *Pictura et scriptura huius pagine subtus uisa . . . est de propria manu s[an]c[t]i dunstani* (The image and writing seen below on this page are by the very hand of Saint Dunstan).
2. *Dunstanum memet cle/mens rogo xp[ist]e tuere./ Tenarias me non sinas/ sorbsisse procellas* (I ask you, merciful Christ, to watch over me, Dunstan. May you not permit the Taenarian storms to swallow me [as translated by E. C. Teviotdale]). The first verse derives from a poem, *De laudibus sanctae cruces*, by the Carolingian writer Hrabanus Maurus. Elizabeth Teviotdale shows how the image of Dunstan, so neatly aligned with the inscription, drew its inspiration from an image of Hrabanus that appears in manuscript copies of the poem; see Teviotdale 1996, pp. 100–101.
3. Budny 1992.
4. Richard W. Hunt identifies this artist as "Hand D"; see Hunt 1961, p. xiv.
5. See the excerpts cited in Budny 1992, p. 104.

8. *Sherborne (or Dunstan) Pontifical*

Canterbury, England, 970s–early 980s; additional drawing, late 10th century
170 folios, 31.5 × 20.5 cm (12 3/16 × 8 1/4 in.)
Text: Pontifical, in Latin, with additions in Old English and Latin that include a letter to Dunstan from Pope John XII (959–64); list of the bishops of Sherborne (1002–ca. 1012); letter to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (992–1002); 2 formulary penitential letters from Wulfsige
Decoration: 4 full-page drawings; decorated initial
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 943

Provenance: Church of Sherborne, Dorset, by early 11th century; a library, likely in France, possibly at Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, late 11th century; Antoine Faure (d. 1689); Leonard de Jayac, Reims; purchased by Bibliothèque Royale (now Bibliotheque Nationale de France), Paris, 1701.

Selected Literature: Wormald 1952, pp. 25–26, no. 54; Temple 1976, no. 35; Rosenthal 1981; London 1984, cat. no. 34; Avril and Stirnemann 1987, no. 16; Rosenthal 1992.

The opening folios of this manuscript, a bishop's guide to the liturgies specific to his office, provide a veritable feast of early Anglo-Saxon draftsmanship. They present four full-page outline drawings in succession. The first in the book, a Crucifixion scene (fol. 4v, illustrated), was likely added last, years after the completion of the next three, an enigmatic trio of near-identical images of the standing Christ (fols. 5v–6v, illustrated). Like the image of Christ in Saint Dunstan's Classbook (cat. no. 7), these three works are associated with Saint Dunstan (909–988), archbishop of Canterbury, adviser to Anglo-Saxon kings, scribe, poet, artist, and, it would seem, a particular enthusiast for the draftsman's art.

Scholars have generally interpreted the three images of Christ as a depiction of the Trinity, even as they acknowledge the paucity of iconographic cues that would secure that identification.[1] Jane Rosenthal, in several studies of the manuscript, has suggested an alternative reading, arguing that the three figures



Fol. 5v, God the Father or Christ as King



Fol. 4v, Crucifixion



Fol. 5v, God the Father or Christ as King

represent iterations of the *Christus triumphans,* an image type adapted from Roman representations of the victorious emperor and one that enjoyed special favor among early medieval patrons of art.[2] Rosenthal keys the threefold repetition of the image to the opening portion of the first ceremony presented in the pontifical: the bishop's entrance into the church at its dedication, an elaborate ritual that requires three separate invocations of the victorious Christ. The small but significant details that distinguish the three images from one another—their attributes, surroundings, amount of facial hair, and their size and placement relative to the frame—Rosenthal links to the three aspects of Christ underscored in the dedication ritual: king, god, and man.

Whatever their iconographic significance, the elegance of the three figures is undeniable. The spare settings permit each figure to comfortably occupy the expanse of the page. The legs are luxuriously elongated, extending over nearly half the picture's length. The long fingers gesture elegantly and hold objects with ease. A relaxed rippling line establishes the contours of the drapery, the ends of which float out toward the sides of the page. Light pen strokes indicate supple folds. As these graceful early images attest, the draped human figure is perhaps the ultimate expression of the distinctive achievements of Anglo-Saxon draftsmen.

A copy of a letter from Pope John XII (r. 959–64) granting Dunstan the privilege of the episcopal pallium at Canterbury is bound between the prefatory images and the pontifical text proper. Though not all scholars agree, it seems likely that Dunstan owned the book, which in turn suggests that he might have commissioned the three images of Christ to adorn it.[3] Considered together with the image that opens Saint Dunstan's Classbook, they give the impression that Dunstan found drawings, particularly those focused on Christ, a fitting introduction to texts of significance to him.[4] As a patron of manuscripts, Dunstan was attracted to innovation in both iconography and artistic technique. The three images of the Sherborne Pontifical and that of Christ in Saint Dunstan's Classbook are the earliest surviving examples of full-page drawings from the Anglo-Saxon period. Indeed, Dunstan's penchant for prefatory drawings may have inaugurated a practice that would take hold more widely.



Fol. 6r, God the Son or Christ as Man

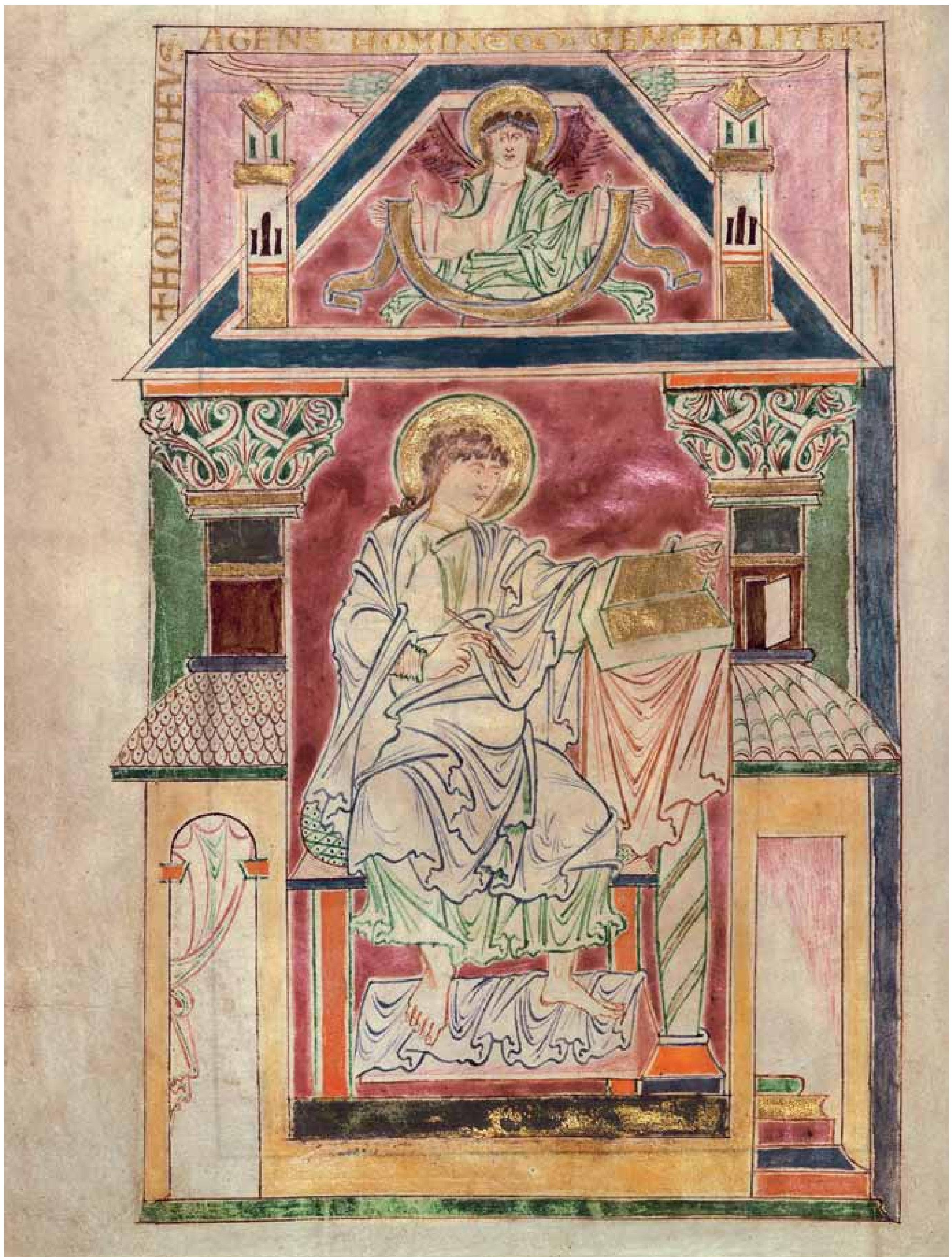


Fol. 6v, The Holy Ghost or Christ as Martyr

Numerous examples suggest that Anglo-Saxon book owners chose to add line drawings to the blank pages that might precede the text of a manuscript.[5]

The Crucifixion drawing that was added a little more than a decade after the christological trio may be considered a result of this trend. The four-folio gathering to which it belongs includes a letter from an unnamed archbishop of Canterbury addressed to Bishop Wulfsige of Sherborne, a disciple of Dunstan's, written in a script datable to the end of the tenth century. Rosenthal suggests that the new gathering, with its drawing, may well have been inserted when the manuscript was sent to Sherborne in the late tenth century, perhaps on the occasion of Wulfsige's elevation to the bishopric in 993.[6] If so, the transfer of ownership occasioned the commission of a new drawing, less personal in its iconography—Crucifixion imagery is often featured in liturgical texts—but one that showed off the noteworthy talents of an artist working in a more up-to-date style, probably the very artist responsible for the Corpus Christi Prudentius (cat. no. 14). The rapid succession of owners of a single volume and of commissions for illustrations in it conveys a sense of the resonance of drawings in this formative moment; it suggests that some book owners perceived it necessary to commission a new drawing or new drawings in order to mark volumes as their own. MH

1. See, for instance, Avril and Stirnemann 1987, no. 16.
2. Rosenthal 1992 and 1981.
3. For a summary of the scholarship regarding the ownership of the book, see Rosenthal 1992, pp. 143–48.
4. A drawing in Saint John's College, Oxford (MS 28), is closely related to one of the Sherborne images and may have connections to Dunstan as well since its script and drawing have been assigned to Canterbury during the time of Dunstan's archepiscopate; Rosenthal 1992, no. 70.
5. See the remarks of Budny 1992, p. 135 and n. 77.
6. Rosenthal 1992, pp. 159–63.



Fol. 17v, Evangelist Matthew

9. *Arenberg Gospels*

Canterbury, England, ca. 1000–1020
167 folios, 30.2 × 19.1 cm (11⅞ × 7½ in.), 19th-century binding
Text: 4 Gospels, in Latin; documents concerning church of Saint-Severin
Decoration: 8 decorated canon table pages; 5 full-page miniatures (4 Evangelist portraits and a Crucifixion); 4 incipit pages
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M. 869

PROVENANCE: Saint-Severin, Cologne, early 12th century; Canon Franz Pick (1750–1819), Cologne; duke of Arenberg, Brussels, 1802; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1954.

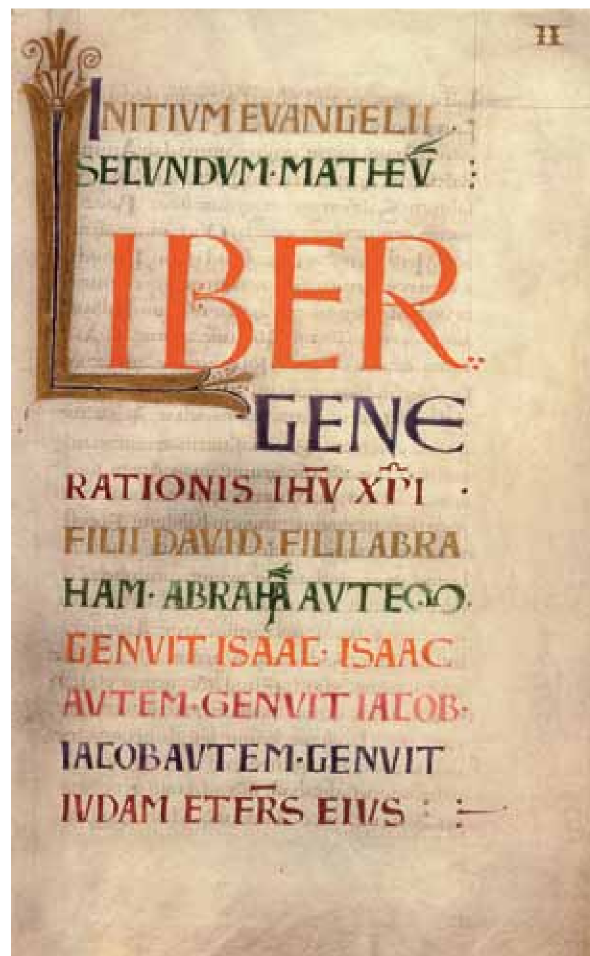
SELECTED LITERATURE: Rosenthal 1974; Temple 1976, no. 56; Cologne 1985, cat. no. E44; Rosenthal 1985, pp. 145–53; Ohlgren 1992, no. 6, figs. 6.1–6.17 (with black-and-white reproductions of all images); Horst et al. 1996, cat. no. 34; Raw 1997, *passim*; Rosenthal 2005, figs. 239–249, pls. 20, 21.

Perhaps better than any other contemporary book, the Arenberg Gospels demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon patrons and artists deemed outline drawing a suitable technique for luxury manuscripts. With its five full-page miniatures, inventively decorated series of canon tables, striking palette, and liberal use of gold, this book likely kept company with other liturgical treasures in a church sacristy, rather than with the learned, less ostentatious works of a monastic library.[1] Its many instances of innovative iconography, in both the Evangelist portraits and the canon tables, mark the book for distinction even in an era noteworthy for its iconographic creativity.

Each Gospel begins in the same spectacular way: a full-page portrait of an Evangelist is placed opposite a decorated incipit page (fols. 17v–18r, illustrated). The evangelists sit within fantastic architectural settings, each one different from the next, with the appropriate symbols overhead. The artist makes use of every opportunity to render the energetic drapery that is the specialty of Anglo-Saxon artists: it clothes the Evangelists, it covers the lecterns, and, in all cases but one, it cloaks the suppedaneum on which the writers place their feet. The draped lectern in particular is an Anglo-Saxon innovation, a standard feature in Evangelist portraits, perhaps placed there in deference to the holy book it supports.[2] The abundance of drapery does not diminish the notable solidity of the figures, whose substantial forms hold their own against the impressive structures that surround them. This is a feature of the artist's original approach to his subject, as is his rejection of the landscapes or simple colonnaded or curtained backdrops usually encountered in earlier and contemporary Evangelist portraits; in their stead he shows outsized churchlike structures replete with columns, towers, doors, and windows.[3] Playing color against line, gold against color, reserved parchment against glowing patches of colored wash, this artist exploits every technique at his disposal. The accompanying text pages apply the same aesthetic, with their lines of capitals embellished with gold and alternating colors set against the smooth sheen of fine undecorated parchment.

The book allots eight pages for the presentation of its ten canon tables, a standard medieval reference tool that showed points of commonality and uniqueness among the four Gospels. Like many medieval charts, the canon tables rely upon a colonnaded arcade to organize the information they provide. The architectural framework often encouraged fanciful depictions of columns and capitals, but the illuminator of these pages focused his attention upon the spaces above the arches, producing a set of enigmatic images that perhaps speak to contemporary theological, sacramental, and liturgical concerns.

In the canon pages, as in the Evangelist portraits, the artist achieves variety within a limited compositional framework. The first image in the set (fol. 10r, illustrated) reveals the general formula: a central figure holding an attribute is flanked by other figures. Here a dancing angel holding a pair of feathery branches,



Fol. 18r, Incipit page for Gospel of Matthew



Fol. 10r, Canon table with angels



Fol. 11v, Canon table with Christ, angels, *agnus dei*, and Virgin

similar to the one shown in the Sherborne Pontifical (cat. no. 8), appears between two other angels. The images that follow offer a sequence of transmutations and permutations of these simple elements. The second drawing (fol. 10v), for instance, also uses three angels, but the central angel strikes a different pose and now holds a disk inscribed with a cross. In the next six pages Christ takes the central position. In the first (fol. 11r) he is a child in Mary's arms with an adoring angel alongside. In the next (fol. 11v, illustrated) he is an adult and holds a book and a disk inscribed with a cross. Angels again appear to either side of Christ, but here the group is accompanied by an Agnus Dei and the Virgin with the dove of the Holy Spirit perched on her head. The series continues with Christ's attributes and companions altered or recombined in each example. He may hold a book and a processional cross or a book and a disk. In two illustrations the ubiquitous angels are replaced by saints. Whether or not the sequence of images should be interpreted as a narrative of redemption, as Jane Rosenthal proposes,[4] we must acknowledge the inventiveness of each formulation and the artist's evident willingness to explore theological issues through visual means.



Fig. 9.1. Canticle of Simeon, *Gloria in excelsis*, fol. 89v, Utrecht Psalter, ca. 820–840, Reims. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, MS. 32

Like the prefatory images of the Sherborne Pontifical, the Arenberg canon tables present a careful parsing of a single theme through a program of subtly differentiated images.

The Utrecht Psalter (Universiteitsbibliotheeck, Utrecht; MS. 32) likely arrived at Christ Church, Canterbury, about the year 1000 and, given the evidence of the Harley Psalter (cat. no. 12), seems to have had an immediate impact on the monastery's manuscript production. The Arenberg canon tables make explicit some of the ways the Utrecht Psalter drawings inspired local artists. The excited, almost conversational gestures, the hunched shoulders, and agitated drapery of the Utrecht Psalter's drawings are echoed, as are specific and unusual iconographic formulations. For example, the central grouping on folio 11v draws upon an illustration in the psalter (fig. 9.1), as does an image of Christ trampling a beast and a basilisk on folio 13v. The Gospel book thus pairs luxurious materials—colored paint, gold, and fine parchment—with a newly fashionable graphic style linked to a celebrated manuscript. Its splendor derives not only from its materials but also from its technique. We wonder whether that superlative combination of elements made the book particularly appropriate for gift-giving. We know the manuscript had made its way from England to Cologne by the twelfth century. It is not difficult to imagine it as a present given to impress and flatter a lucky recipient.

MH

1. Indeed, practical notes in the margins by the original scribe for the readings on feast days make clear the book's intended use as a liturgical manuscript; see Rosenthal 2005, p. 165.
2. Nordenfalk 1992.
3. Rosenthal 1985, pp. 145–53.
4. Rosenthal 1974.

10. *Bury Saint Edmunds Psalter*

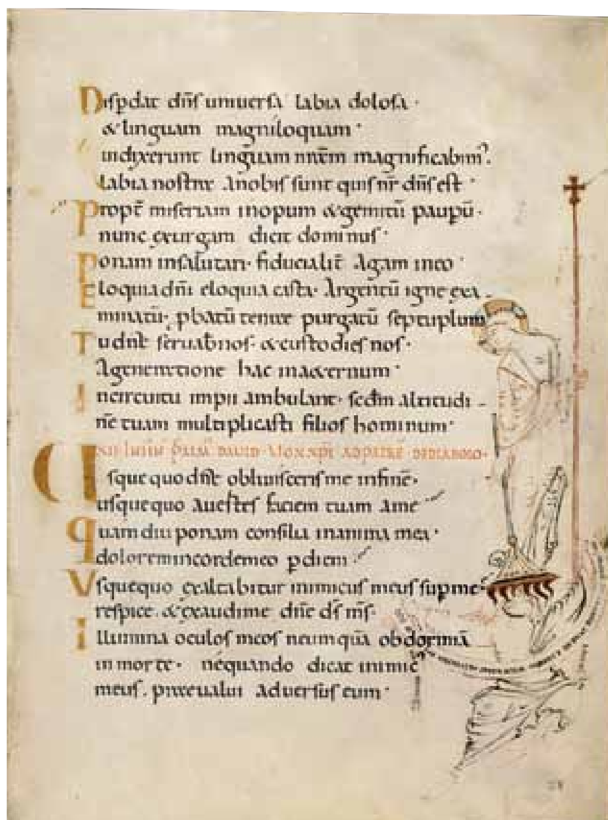
Canterbury or Bury Saint Edmunds, England, mid-11th century
182 folios, 34.5 × 26 cm (13 9/16 × 10 1/4 in.)
Text: *Synonyma* (excerpts) by Isidore of Seville; a prayer, calendar, and computus; Gallican psalter and canticles; litany, collects, prayers, Jouarre relic list, in Latin
Decoration: 2 full-page miniatures; 47 pages with marginal drawings
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Reg. Lat. 12

PROVENANCE: Bury Saint Edmunds, England; France, possibly Jouarre; Library of Queen Christina of Sweden, Stockholm, later Rome, 1650–89; Cardinal Ottoboni, later Pope Alexander VIII (1610–1691); entered Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, with Ottoboni collection, 1690.

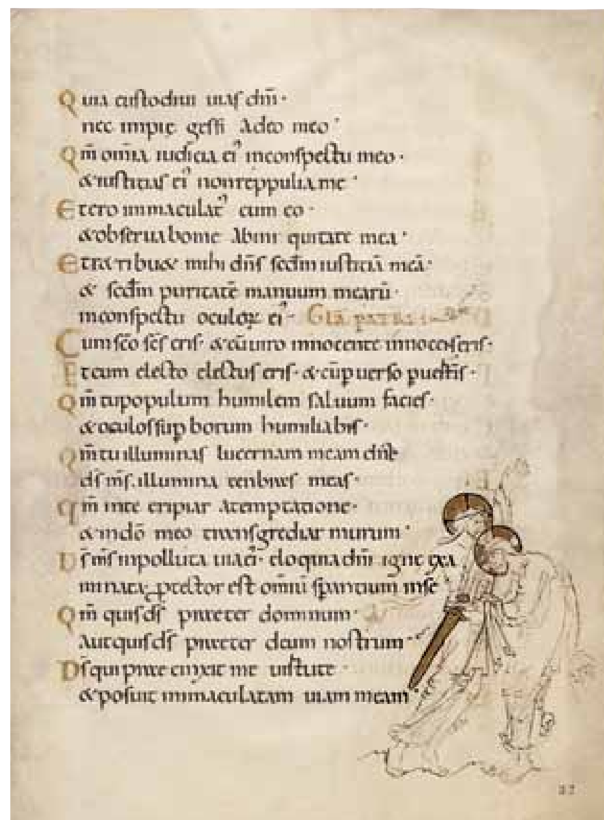
SELECTED LITERATURE: Wilmart 1937–45, vol. 1, pp. 30–33; Schapiro 1943; Harris 1960; Temple 1976, no. 84; Ohlgren 1992, pp. 2–3, no. 3, pls. 3.1–3.49 (with black-and-white reproductions of all images); Deshman 1997; Rushforth 2002, pp. 105–45; Rushforth 2005.

The unframed drawings that occupy the margins of the text constitute the outstanding achievement of the Bury Saint Edmunds Psalter. These are located mainly in the inner and outer borders of the pages, and occasionally in the upper and lower ones, framing the psalms and creating a context for reading them. The illustrations were a planned part of the manuscript, added after the completion of the text but before the rubrics and gold initials. Though the text was written first, it often overlaps the drawings, so that there is a sense of reading and visualizing at the same time. The illustrations treat a range of subjects: Old and New Testament events, as well as visualizations of the words of the psalms themselves. The images, which are placed near the verses that inspired them, are both physically and thematically close to the text they illustrate, so that words and pictures can be considered together and illuminate each other.

The Bury Psalter fits squarely within the tradition of early medieval psalters that visualize the contents of the psalms. There is a remarkable freedom with respect to visualizing God, who is shown not as a hieratic deity but as one who bends and



Fol. 28r, Psalm 12

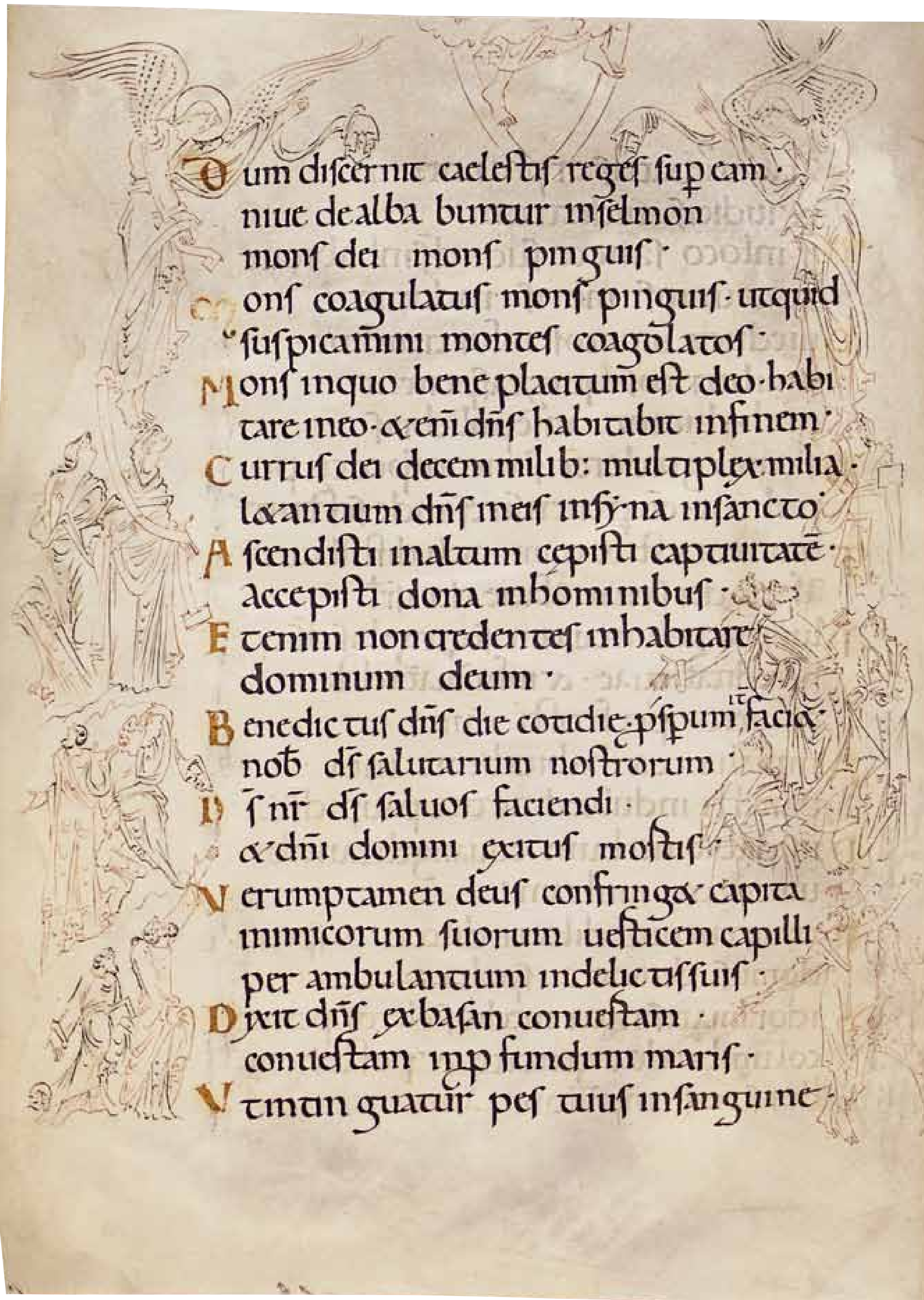


Fol. 32r, Psalm 17

turns and interacts with the psalmist in unexpected ways. In the Bury Psalter there is an intense focus on the physical contact between human and divine. On folio 22v, for example, the psalmist is seen being lifted from his grave by a divine hand wrapping around his own. On folio 28r (illustrated) Christ, indentified by a cross-nimbus and staff, stands directly on the shoulders of the psalmist and holds a flaming torch to his eyes, a visualization of the psalmist's request, repeated on the text scroll he holds, that God enlighten his eyes. On folio 32r (illustrated) the psalmist stands with his arms out while Christ stoops to tie around his waist a sword, a visualization of the psalmist's description of God as having girt him with strength. In these illustrations the relationship with God prayed for by the psalmist is seen to be achieved.

A departure from tradition in the Bury Psalter is its Ascension on folio 73v (illustrated), which is of the type known as "disappearing," a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon innovation found from about 1000. In earlier Ascensions, Christ's entire body is seen in profile striding upward to heaven. The Bury Ascension attempts to portray the actual moment of vanishing: at the top of the page the hem of Christ's robe and his feet are shown, surrounded by a half mandorla; the part of his body cut off by the border of the page is understood to have disappeared from earthly sight. The miracle is witnessed by an animated crowd below. In the outer margin, just beneath the feet of an angel, are Mary, veiled and holding a text scroll, and an apostle. Two pairs of apostles are depicted in the tiers below. In the inner margin are seven more apostles, arranged from top to bottom in rows of one, four, and two figures. All look up toward Christ with rapt attention. In their effort to get a last glimpse of him, some have bent their heads so far back that their faces are horizontal. Others point or gesture with open hands toward the event or spread both hands apart in astonishment. An apostle in the outer margin points to his eyes, as if in disbelief. The asymmetry of the groupings, the agitated line of the drapery, and the crossed and bent legs of the various postures convey the energy of the apostles and the great emotion they feel as they watch Christ depart.

Because the unfolding Ascension is vividly represented from the apostles' perspective, the viewer of the image is made to feel like a spectator at the scene. The illustration thus encourages an imaginative participation in the events of Christ's life. At the same time, the Bury Ascension makes a complex theological point: Christ is able to ascend to heaven unaided because his flesh is not tainted by original sin. That Christ is simultaneously visible and invisible is a reminder of the need for bodily vision to give way to spiritual vision in the life of faith, since corporeal vision alone is clearly powerless to apprehend Christ's divine nature. That the drawing suggests the unrepresentability of Christ's unveiled divinity perhaps indicates an awareness of the limits of art in envisioning God. Nevertheless, the drawing, like others in the manuscript, proclaims the importance of images that engage the heart and the mind in the attainment of spiritual understanding. LB



Fol. 73v, Psalm 67 with the Ascension

11. *Life of Saint Paul* by Jerome and *Life of Saint Guthlac* by Felix

England, probably Canterbury, text copied second half of 10th century; additional drawing probably second quarter of 11th century
ii + 160 + ii folios, 24.7 × 15.7 cm (9¾ × 6³⁄₁₆ in.), 20th-century binding
Text: *Vitae* of Saints Paul and Guthlac
Decoration: 2 author portraits (1 unfinished); decorated initials
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 389

PROVENANCE: Saint Augustine's, Canterbury, 14th century; Matthew Parker (1504–1575); his bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1575.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Wormald 1952, no. 10; Temple 1976, no. 36; Budny 1997, no. 23; Cambridge 2005, cat. no. 112.

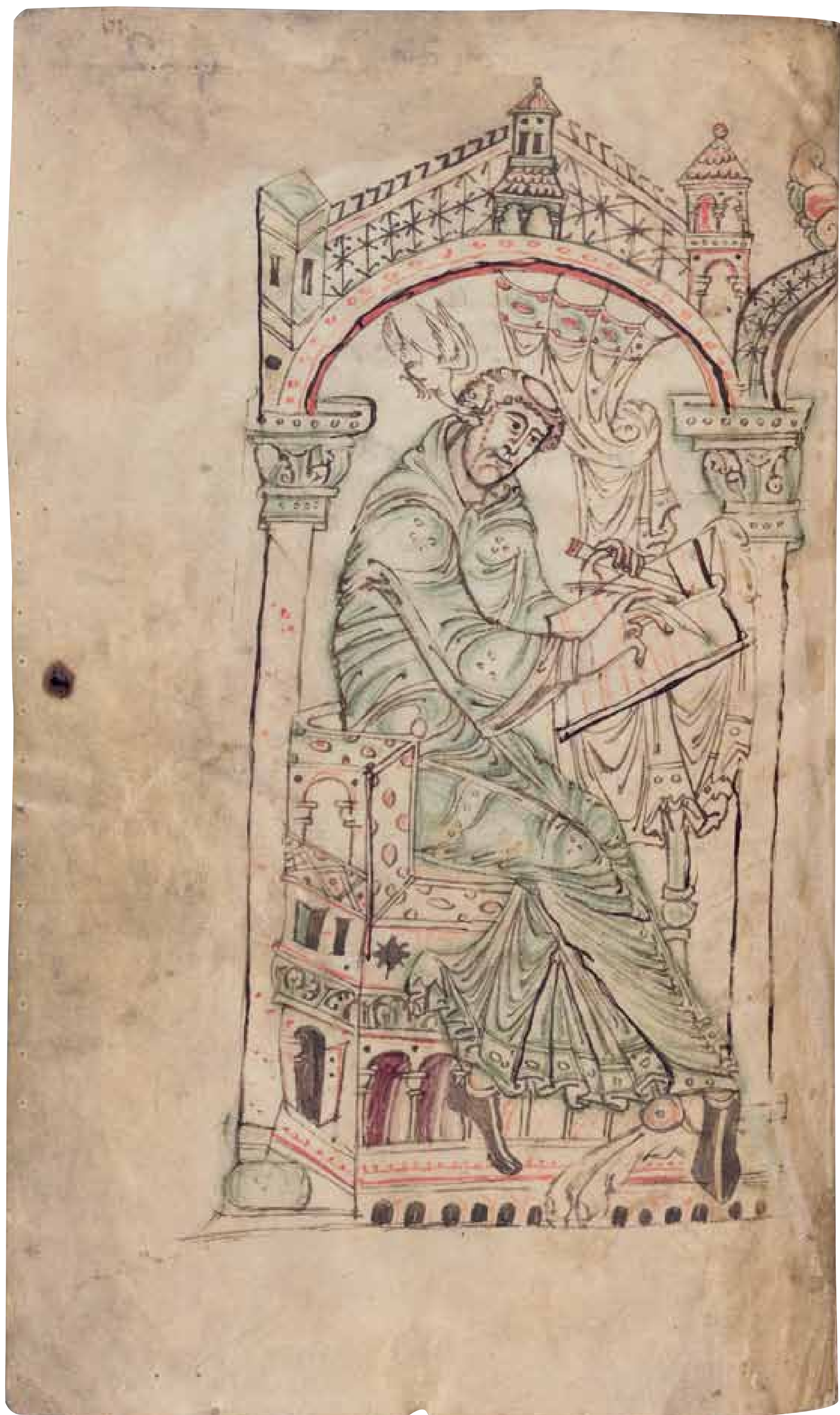
The eleventh-century owners of this tenth-century manuscript saw fit to add two full-page drawings to a book containing the Lives of two eremitical saints. It is a happy juxtaposition of texts, undoubtedly brought together to suggest that a local saint and his biographer find antecedents in renowned figures from early Christian days. The first *Life* in the manuscript recounts the story of the first Christian hermit, Paul of Thebes (d. ca. 345), composed by the great church father and Bible translator Jerome (ca. 341–420), while the second provides an Anglo-Saxon updating of a hermit's tale with the life of Guthlac (ca. 673–714), written by his near contemporary Felix (active ca. 730–40).

The original text included a number of exquisitely drawn interlace initials used to articulate sections of the book, but no full-page illustrations. The added drawings not only mark the beginnings of each *Life,* but also confirm the authoritativeness of the text that follows by showing portraits of those responsible for that text's transmission. The first image (fol. 1v, illustrated) shows a tonsured Saint Jerome, the author of Paul's *Life*, beneath an elaborate arcade, sitting before a draped lectern, quill and knife poised to work. The dove of the Holy Spirit whispers in his ear—supplying divine inspiration for the task at hand. The second portrait, never finished, offers the bare outlines of a king and a tonsured attendant, presumably the author Felix at the feet of Ælfwald, king of the East Angles (r. ca. 713–49), who commissioned the biography.

Few Anglo-Saxon drawings rival the exuberance of the Corpus Jerome image. The whole presents a woozy vision of slightly swaying columns, topped by whimsical architectural flourishes, a chair and lectern composed of precariously piled-up elements, and a hanging curtain that whirls and dances as if carried away by an internal cyclone. Stars, dots, zig-zags, and curlicues animate every surface. Washes of red and green add depth without clarifying the scene's spatial configuration. Amid the torrent of drapery folds and the busy ornamentation of the architecture appears the serene face of Jerome, his placid eyes and mouth rendered with a few short strokes.

In many ways the Jerome image stands alone among Anglo-Saxon drawings. In his classic study of English outline drawing, Francis Wormald views it as belonging to a "revived Utrecht Style," comparing it with the Tiberius Psalter (British Library, London, Cotton Tiberius C. VI) or the Pachomius Easter Tables (British Library, London, Cotton Caligula A. XV).[1] Though these works also make use of color to modulate outlines, their effect is harsh in comparison to the softer, more playful Corpus Jerome. Mildred Budny locates the Jerome drawing within a family of works she links to Saint Augustine's abbey.[2] They include the frontispieces of a *Regularis Concordia* (British Library, London, Cotton Tiberius A. III),[3] an added Evangelist portrait from an eighth-century Gospel book (British Library, London, Royal I. E.VI),[4] and a set of Evangelist portraits added to an evangeliary and lectionary dated to about 1000 (Bibliotheka Narodowa, Warsaw, MS I. 3311).[5] Budny characterizes the artist she considers responsible for them all as a specialist in supplying frontispieces and author portraits, often adding them to earlier manuscripts. The group shares certain architectural details, similar ornamental designs, and a preference for elegant fingers of exaggerated length, yet they all seem rather staid next to the energetic forms and scintillating patterns of the Corpus Jerome, surely one of the aesthetic high points of an era teeming with artistic accomplishment. MH

1. Wormald 1952, pp. 55–56.
2. Budny 1984, pp. 245–54.
3. Temple 1976, no. 100.
4. Ibid., no. 55.
5. Ibid., no. 92.



Fol. 1v, Saint Jerome

12. *Harley Psalter*

England, probably Canterbury, ca. 1010–1100
73 folios, 37.6 × 31.2 cm ($14\frac{13}{16}$ × $12\frac{13}{16}$ in.), modern binding
Text: (incomplete), Roman psalter in Latin except Psalms 100–105 v. 25, which are Gallican
Decoration: 112 drawings
British Library, London, MS Harley 603

Provenance: Robert Harley, earl of Oxford (1661–1724), Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford (1689–1741); his wife, Henrietta (1694–1755), and their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, duchess of Portland (1715–1785); purchased from them by British Library, London, 1753.

Selected Literature: Temple 1976, no. 64; Ohlgren 1992, no. 2, figs. 2.1–2.102 (with black-and-white reproductions of all images); Noel 1995; William Noel, "The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment," in Horst et al. 1996, pp. 120–65, cat. no. 28; Semple 2003; Heslop 2008; British Library website.

The work of three scribes and eight artists yet never completed, the Harley Psalter is one of the great glories of late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination. The book contains more than one hundred drawings, each one preceding the text of the psalm it illustrates. Produced over a period of more than one hundred years, from about 1015 to 1140, it displays several distinct styles of drawing and provides a yardstick for the stylistic development of English art in the Middle Ages. It was in this period that the status of line drawing was equal to that of fully painted miniatures.

The drawings are so fresh that one might suppose they were devised by the artists without recourse to models. This is not the case, for the principal source of the Harley drawings still survives: it is the Utrecht Psalter (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, MS. 32), a masterpiece of Carolingian manuscript art from the second quarter of the ninth century. Comparison of the two books adds another layer of fascination to the study of this tour de force of English image making. Nearly all the Harley artists preferred to create colored line drawings rather than imitate the monochrome bister of the Carolingian manuscript, and each responded distinctively to the images in the model. Two extremes of response are seen on folios 57v and 58r (illustrated), which illustrate Psalms 111, 112, and 113. The artist responsible for the drawing on the left followed Utrecht's example especially closely, while the draftsman of the images on the right made only occasional references to the model (fig. 12.1). Scholars in various disciplines have approached the comparative study of the two manuscripts with ingenuity. Archaeologists in particular have discovered, in their noting of tiny differences, details in the Harley that reflect elements of daily life in Anglo-Saxon England, from the shape of spears to burial practices.[1]

Each illustration in the Harley Psalter is a delight to the eye and an entertaining puzzle for the mind. The Harley images, like those of the Utrecht Psalter, at first glance appear to be coherent compositions that portray episodes from stories. The coherence, however, is purely illusory: different parts of the pictures refer to separate words or phrases in the text. For example, in the center of the picture on folio 57v the seated man has an open book before him and is presumably the master of the immensely impressive edifice that surrounds him. Clearly he is the blessed man of verse 1 in Psalm 111, "who fears the Lord and delights exceedingly in his commandments"; he also illustrates

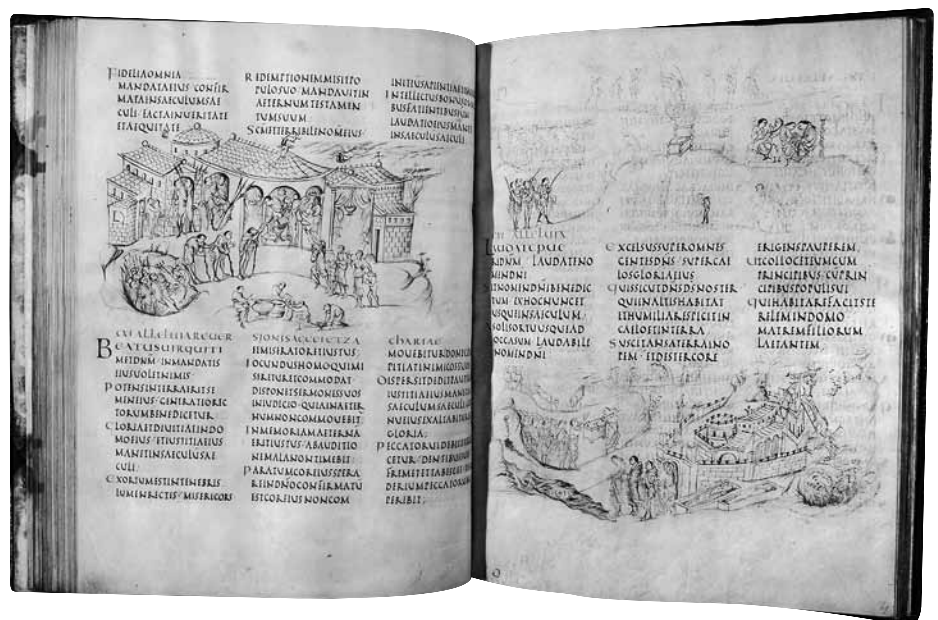


Fig. 12.1. Psalms 111, 112, 113, fols. 65v–66r, Utrecht Psalter, ca. 820–840, Reims. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht, Ms. 32

& equitate ;
Redemptionem misit po
pulo suo. mandauit in e
ternum. testamentum

suum. scm & terribile
nomen eius ;
Initium sapientie timor
dni. intellectus bonus

omnibus facientibus eu ;
Laudatio eius. manet in
seculum seculi ;



ALLELUIA REVERSIONIS AGGEI ET ZACHARIAE. · CXI ·

BEATUS UIR
qui timet dnm. in
mandatis eius cupit
nimis ;
Potens in terra erit sem
eius. generatio rectoru
benedicetur ;
Gloria & diuitie in domo
eius. & iustitia eius ma
net in seculum seculi ;
Exortum est in tenebris

lumen rectis corde ;
misericors & miserator
& iustus dns ;
Iocundus homo qui mise
retur & commodat dis
ponet sermones suos in
iudicio. quia in eternu
non commouebitur ;
In memoria eterna erit
iustus. ab auditione ma
la non timebit ;

Paratum est cor eius spe
rare in dno. confirmatu
est cor eius non commo
uebitur. donec uideat
inimicos suos ingla ;
Dispsit dedit pauperibus.
iustitia eius manet in sclm
seculi. cornu eius exaltabitur
Peccator uidebit & irascet.
dentibus suis fremebit & ta
bescet. desideriu peccatorum p
eribit ;

Fol. 57v, Psalm 111



Fols. 57v–58r, Psalms 111, 112, 113

the notion in verse 3 that "glory and wealth shall be in his house." He is busy giving much of his wealth away, for according to verse 9, "He hath distributed; he hath given to the poor." Less obvious is the meaning of the head of a stag, shown above the blessed man at the apex of the roof. It perhaps alludes to a phrase in verse 9: "his horn shall be exalted." The Harley Psalter is full of curiosities like this. Yet another example is in the illustration of Psalm 113. At the bottom of the right page, the head of a ram is attached to a hillside, illustrating verse 4: "the Mountains skipped like rams." The rest of the illustration depicts the artists' inventive addition of Moses and Aaron preparing to cross the Red Sea as they lead the tribe of Israel out of Egypt.

The three scribes responsible for the text of the Harley Psalter, who included the great Eadui Basan, were based at Christ Church Cathedral Priory. This might suggest that the manuscript was made there, a notion supported by the depiction of an archbishop wearing the pallium and kneeling before Christ in the Beatus initial of Psalm 1. It has been proposed that the Harley Psalter was made to serve as a diplomatic gift that Aethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury (1020–ca. 1038), would present to the pope when he traveled to Rome in 1022 to receive the pallium.[2] An unusual feature of the Harley Psalter's production might support this theory: the central section of the book, between folios 27v and 50r, was created after the portions that fall on either side of it. It has been argued that the Utrecht Psalter was disbound to allow the Harley artists to work on various parts of it simultaneously, with one man starting at Psalm 1, and another at Psalm 101.[3] This would have been one way to expedite the production of the book in order to meet a deadline. If this is so, the stratagem failed, for it was not finished in time, and indeed, as we have remarked, was never finished.

The restless imagery of the Harley Psalter is not the only manifestation of English artists' great interest in the pictorial inventiveness of the Utrecht Psalter. It was the first of three manuscripts in which English artists attempted to re-create the Utrecht Psalter's entire cycle of illustrations. The second, the Eadwine Psalter of about 1150, like the Harley manuscript, bears tinted line drawings, and the third, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 8846, from about 1190, is fully painted. Beginning in the 970s, the Utrecht Psalter's impact on English art was felt far beyond these three psalters, for its style and many of its inventive iconographic solutions were adopted and adapted in numerous different contexts in fully painted miniatures as well as line drawings. As T. A. Heslop has most recently demonstrated, the Utrecht Psalter is thoroughly implicated in the development of late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman art.[4]

WN

1. Carver 1986.
2. Heslop 2008, p. 272.
3. Noel 1995, pp. 130–35.
4. Heslop 2008.

13. *Astronomical Compilation*

France, probably Fleury, illustrated by an English artist, ca. 1000
93 folios, 29.5 × 21.2 cm (11⅝ × 8⅜ in.), post-1600 binding
Text: *De astronomia* by Hyginus; *De duodecim signis* by Priscian; *De differentia circuli et sphere* by Abbo of Fleury; *De nominibus stellarum; Phaenomena* by Aratus of Soli, translated into Latin by Marcus Tullius Cicero; *De signis caeli*; *De concordia solaris cursus et lunaris* by Pseudo-Bede; *De cursu earum per zodiacum circulu* by Pliny; *Commentarius in somnium Scipionis* (excerpt) by Macrobius; *Preceptum ingrediendi canonis Tholomei*; calendrical tables; *De astrologia* (excerpt) by Martianus Capella; *De divisione*; *Commentarius super Marcianum de Capella* by Remigius Autissiodorensis
Decoration: 21 drawings of constellations (some unfinished); diagrams and tables; decorated initials
The British Library, London, MS Harley 2506

Provenance: Robert Harley, earl of Oxford (1661–1724), Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford (1689–1741); his wife, Henrietta (1694–1755), and their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, duchess of Portland (1715–1785); purchased from them by British Library, London, 1753.

Selected Literature: Fritz Saxl, "Illuminated Science Manuscripts in England," in Saxl 1957, pp. 103–4, 105–7, figs. 96–110, pls. 52–61; Temple 1976, no. 42; McGurk et al. 1983, pp. 67–78, pls. X–XVII; Noel 1995, pp. 174–81; British Library website.

Illustrations of the constellations, most often in the form of drawings, were integral to medieval astronomical manuscripts, themselves essential books for a medieval library. The many surviving manuscripts of this genre vary in quality. Some provide the most perfunctory of drawings, hastily rendered mnemonics to call up the star-shapes under discussion. Far fewer offer carefully considered illustrations by artists of undisputed talent. This exceptionally fine manuscript likely made by an English artist for the celebrated French monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire is one of the rare examples of the latter category. The unnamed draftsman responsible for this work surely ranks among the most accomplished artists of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The opening of folios 41v–42r (illustrated), with pictures of Lepus, the rabbit, Argo navis, the ship, and the sea monster Cetus, embodies the hallmarks of his style. Like many Anglo-Saxon artists, he looked to a nervous line to animate his figures, but he displayed an out-of-the-ordinary sensitivity in its deployment, varying its thickness and quality to convey volume and expressive effect. Note the contours of the dragon. Along the coiling tail, he employs a dark line, firm yet sufficiently fluid to give a clear sense of its craggy curves. The mouth, with its lolling tongue, however, depends upon a series of light, quick strokes that stop and start, leaving an intermittent trail of dashes and dots. The flickering bends and turns of the back fin he renders with the swiftness of a rapidly executed signature.

This artist's accomplished hand survives in four other manuscripts: a psalter (fig. 10), a volume of Gregory's *Homilies on Ezekiel* (Bibliothèque Municipale, Orléans, MS 175), and two Gospel books, the Anhalt-Morgan Gospels (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.827), and the Boulogne Gospels (Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne, MS 11).[1] The psalter and book of homilies both rely upon outline drawings carried out in colored ink, the former in a delicate and unusual mix of brown, orange, blue, and green, the other in a cooler palette of brown and blue. A later application of paint has dramatically altered the appearance of the Anhalt-Morgan Gospels, but the Gospel book now in Boulogne, which was almost entirely decorated by this artist, includes both drawn and full-color images with gilding. In the present manuscript, however, he adheres to a monochrome palette in order to echo the colors of the texts that surround the images. The lines and light washes of sepia ink with occasional touches of pale blue are relieved only by the red dots that indicate stars. As this artist was clearly at ease with both paint and pen, we are left to wonder whether the particular character of the decoration was determined by his own preference, the cost, or the wishes of a patron. Without excluding any of these possibilities, we can surely propose that the choice of drawing for a version of the Aratus of the highest quality must have resulted from a wish to make use of a technique deemed suitable for the genre.

The cohesiveness of the color scheme is a vehicle for the harmonious integration of text and image. Set within a manuscript comprising numerous astronomical texts—some by such revered authors of antiquity as Pliny, Priscian, Hyginus, and Macrobius, others by medieval authors including Abbo of Fleury, the abbot of Fleury from 988 to 1004—the constellation pictures accompany a unique combination of two texts. One, written in brown ink above and below the images, is a Latin rendering of an ancient Greek poem, the *Phaenomena* by Aratus, its translator no less than the famed Roman orator Cicero. The other, carried out in red ink fastidiously set in the wide margins, was attributed (though falsely) to Bede, the early Anglo-Saxon author of one of the most influential texts on astronomy as it related to the calculation of the Christian calendar. William Noel has forcefully demonstrated how the images, far from representing a decorative afterthought, possessed "a privileged status" in the conception of this part of the book.[2] They provide an organizational node around which the texts are placed, and they also help to reconcile the complementary, occasionally contradictory, information about the constellations that the two texts provide.



Fols. 41v–42r, Constellations of Lepus, Argo, and Cetus

Just as the scribe had to make use of at least two exemplars to create the text, the artist too must have consulted numerous precedents. As Noel has pointed out, the conflation of several works in the Fleury manuscript required a skillful selection and recombination of elements from each source, since the Aratus and Pseudo-Bede texts are the product of a related but distinct tradition of illustration.[3] The artist and the scribe could not simply follow an earlier formula for the layouts of their pages. The rabbit, accomplished in its execution but too small in comparison to the writing around it, suggests a slight miscalculation of the relative location of image and text. The facing page, in contrast, where the boat aligns with the Aratus text below it and the dragon comfortably occupies the entire expanse of the bottom margin, is a study in compositional balance, evidence of a successful collaboration between artist and scribe.

MH

1. For the Homilies, see Paris 2005, cat. no. 193; for the Anhalt-Morgan Gospels, see Temple 1976, no. 45; and for the Boulogne Gospels, see Horst et al. 1996, cat. no. 32, and Ohlgren 1992, no. 5, figs. 5.1–5.28.

2. Noel 1995, p. 177.

3. Ibid., pp. 176–79.

14. *Psychomachia* and Other Texts by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens

England, probably Canterbury, late 10th–early 11th century
ii + 104 folios, 38.5 × 30.8 cm (15³⁄₁₆ × 12⅛ in.), modern binding
Text: *Psychomachia; Peristephanon; Contra symmachum* (1 page), in Latin with Old English glosses and titles; bound together with 12th-century copy of *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* by Dover of Orosius (separately numbered folios that constitute part II of the manuscript)
Decoration: 89 drawings accompanying *Psychomachia* (illustration cycle unfinished)
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 23, part I

Provenance: Given by Aethelweard, possibly abbot of Malmesbury (1040–50), to Abbey of Malmesbury, mid-11th century; Matthew Parker (1504–1575); his bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1575.

Selected Literature: Stettiner 1895–1905, pp. 17–22, pls. 31–34, 49–66; James 1912, vol. 1, pp. 44–46; Woodruff 1930, pp. 8–9; Temple 1976, no. 48; Wieland 1987; Budny 1997, pp. 275–437, no. 24 (with reproductions of all the images); Cambridge 2005, cat. no. 11.

If the settings of the eighty-nine drawings in this manuscript can be faulted for their spareness, and if the bits of architecture frequently appear to be stiff assemblages of ruled lines, it is the depiction of drapery that reveals the mastery of the draftsman responsible for these pages. The animation and elegance residing in the frothy hemlines, the fanciful patterns of cascading folds, and the ebullient stray ends of cloaks and veils make this manuscript one of the loveliest of the many surviving illustrated copies of the works of the fourth-century poet Prudentius (348–ca. 413). Prudentius's most revered poem, the *Psychomachia,* or *The Battle of* or *for the Human Soul,* occupies the first forty folios of this book, and its lavish pictorial program assures the appearance of one or two images on every page.

The *Psychomachia* is a gruesome poem: it recounts a series of battles between personifications of the Virtues and Vices and is replete with descriptions of dismemberment, strangulation, and other slow, agonizing deaths. One medieval reader's reaction to Prudentius's work offers clues to the nature of the poem's aesthetic appeal in the early Middle Ages. The tenth-century biographer Ruotger tells how a precocious Bruno, the future archbishop of Cologne, came to appreciate the work of Prudentius early on: "Because [Prudentius] is catholic in faith and intention, outstanding in truth and eloquence, and so elegant in the diversity of his meters and his books, [his work] soon tasted so sweet to [Bruno's] heart that he drank in not only the external words, but also the marrow or pure nectar of the inner sense . . . with inexpressible avidity."[1] Prudentius offered a felicitous combination of inspiring content and well-constructed, graceful Latin—a pleasing package for the vivid and violent imagery of the *Psychomachia*. His works proved indispensable for both library and classroom, as the remarkable number of extant copies of the *Psychomachia* (twenty of them illustrated) suggests. The extensive use of glosses in many of them indicates the ongoing engagement of readers throughout the Middle Ages.[2] Indeed, no other work, apart from the Bible, proved more inspiring to medieval artists.[3]

Though every drawing in the Corpus Prudentius manuscript is keyed to a specific passage in the poem, there is a curious disjunction between the mood of the text and the mood of the images. For example, in the final climactic battle of the poem, Faith throws a spear toward Discord, "driving its hard point through [her] foul tongue."[4] One act of violence follows another as the other Virtues convene to "tear the deadly beast [Heresy] in pieces, each seizing bits to scatter to the breezes, or throw to the dogs, or proffer to the devouring carrion crows, or thrust into the foul, stinking sewers. . . ."[5] The artist, however, considerably tempers the poem's gory details. The picture on folio 34v (illustrated) shows a lissome Faith gracefully extending her sword to strike the deadly blow. Discord, Faith's elegant twin in all respects except her fluttering veil, is hit across her face. Neither combatant exhibits distress or pain. The most grisly battle of the war is depicted as if it were an effortless dance. In the next scene, on folio 35r (illustrated), Faith's companion Virtues stand coolly around Discord's body parts, a prim arrangement of head, trunk, and limbs. The vivid and terrible details of Prudentius's poem are expressed in pictures notable for their restraint and grace. No blood, no venom, no bow to the memorably horrific content of Prudentius's verses.

The artist's lightness of touch might be considered an unlikely means of giving visual expression to an epic battle. The loose relationship between poem and drawings, however, speaks both to convention and to decorum. Although Mary Carruthers has suggested that the gory details of the *Psychomachia* were precisely the features that seared the poem into readers' memories,[6] there was a strong distaste in the early Middle Ages for illustrating brutality and graphic violence. Moreover, none of the surviving illustrations of the poem suggests that artists of the early Middle Ages were attracted to the poem's violent imagery. The artist responsible for the present version designed his pictures to provide an elegant shorthand that offers just enough information to signal efficiently the main elements of the text rather than to illustrate it fully. In his drawings he successfully communicated the sweetness that Bruno and other medieval readers found in Prudentius's meter, distilling beauty out of the poet's ghastly imagery.



Fols. 34v–35r, Faith smites Discord; Virtues divide Discord; Virtues build a judgment seat

In seeking to render the poem's intensity of action and sweetness of language with an energetic and graceful line, the Corpus Prudentius master looked to a tradition of Prudentius manuscript illustration rather than the text itself. The signal feature of Prudentius illustrations is line. Almost all the surviving illustrated copies, the earliest of which date to the ninth century, use outline drawings to accompany the text.[7] Some depict the Virtues as veiled women; others, as warriors with mail armor and helmets. The kinds of weaponry and the number and groupings of figures are also varied. Among these manuscripts, the Corpus Prudentius, the largest of all surviving copies, stands out for its size and fine parchment as well as for the near completeness and high quality of the cycle of pictures. The ambitious number of illustrations, coupled with relatively few annotations, suggests that it was conceived and valued as a luxury manuscript, appreciated more for its appearance than for its textual content.

The *Psychomachia* begins with a prologue taken from Genesis describing events in the life of Abraham. The illustrations accompanying the opening section in this manuscript are among the finest in the book. Like the other pictures in the volume, each is presented inside a ruled frame, embedded within the text. Latin titles are usually inscribed in the margins and Old English titles are included within the frames. Two of the images on folios 2v–3r (illustrated), which show Abraham in pursuit of Lot's captors and a victorious Abraham returning with Lot, offer crowded scenes of horsemen trotting on an agitated groundline. Though the palette is limited to blue, green, red, and brown, the colors are carefully dispersed across the composition to ensure that the figures are differentiated from one another. Rarely does the same combination of colors occur on any two figures. In the earliest illustrations details such as animal fur, the decoration of shields, and the riders' mounts are rendered attentively. As the text develops, the drawings become more hurried and minimal and such details disappear, with the artist reserving his attention almost exclusively for the fluid drapery, unfailingly rendered with skill.

The manuscript speaks to the energy and persistence of a single draftsman, who produced drawings remarkable for their quick, sure, and spontaneous line. This same artist was the less prolific but notably more talented member of a pair of draftsmen who illustrated the Caedmon Genesis (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Junius 11).[8] The Corpus manuscript, however, challenged him to see an ambitious work through on his own nearly



Fols. 2v–3r. Abraham in pursuit of Lot's captors; victorious Abraham returning with Lot; Abraham and Melchiszedek at altar

to its conclusion, and as such it represents his chef d'oeuvre and one of the great monuments of Anglo-Saxon outline drawing.

MH

1. Translation in Mayr-Harting 2007, pp. 110–11.
2. On glosses and the early medieval reception of Prudentius, see O'Sullivan 2004.
3. Katzenellenbogen 1939; O'Reilly 1988.
4. *Psychomachia* 717–718; English translation in *Prudentius*, translated by H. J. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), vol. 1, p. 329.
5. *Psychomachia* 719–722; English translation in ibid.
6. Carruthers 1998, p. 144.
7. Helen Woodruff (1930) has refined Stettiner's (1895–1905) argument that all of the illustrated Prudentius manuscripts can be divided into two groups, both deriving from a lost archetype; see her discussion of the distinctions between the two on pp. 34–35.
8. See Temple 1976, no. 78; Muir 2004.

15. *Six Comedies* by Terence

Saint Albans, England, mid-12th century
iv + 181 folios, 28.3 × 22.1 cm (8 11/16 × 11⅛ in.), 17th-century binding
Text: *Woman of Andros*; *Eunuch*; *Self-Tormentor*; *Brothers*; *Mother-in-Law*; *Phormio* (incomplete), in Latin
Decoration: 139 drawings, including author portrait and illustrations for almost every scene in the plays
Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Auct. F. 2. 13

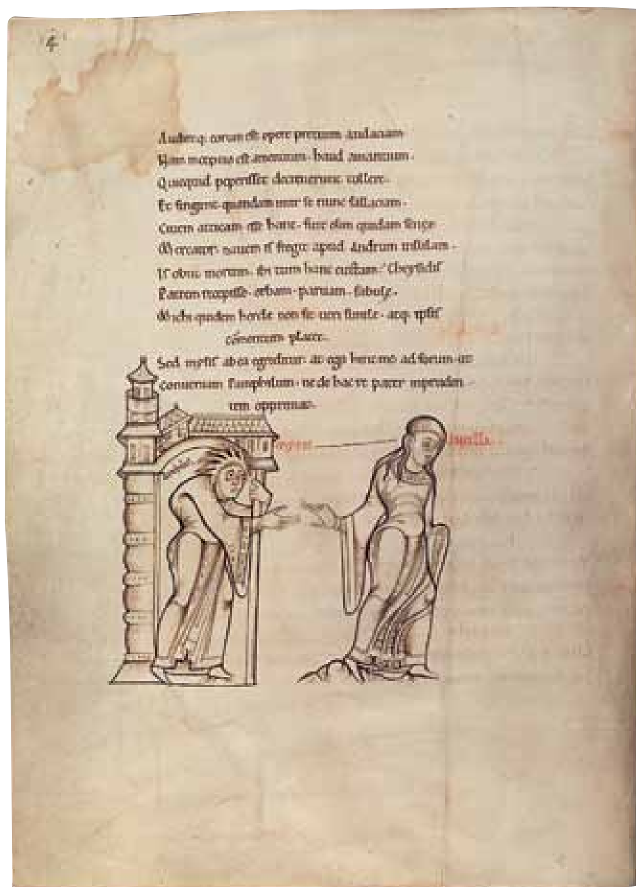
PROVENANCE: Saint Albans, ca. 1200–1250; Roger Walle, canon of Lichfield (d. 1488).

SELECTED LITERATURE: Jones and Morey 1931, pp. 68–93; Kauffmann 1975, no. 3; Thomson 1982, pp. 35, 40, no. 41, figs. 124–127; Grant 1986, pp. 136–59; Bodleian Terence 2009 (digital facsimile).

Few ancient playwrights enjoyed as much prominence among medieval readers as Terence, who wrote his six comedies between 166 and 160 B.C. Hundreds of manuscript copies of his plays survive, and we know from medieval writings that his buffoonish humor, rapid dialogue, and tales of trickery and disguise for good cause inspired both laughter and imitation. It was likely the works of Terence that the tenth-century German monk Ruotger had in mind when he described certain comedies that left people "shaking with endless laughter."[1] Moreover, his contemporary, the nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, claimed to have looked to Terence for models of style and form when she wrote her plays.[2] His plays also inspired illustrations: some thirteen copies of his comedies with extensive cycles of images, all dating from the ninth to the twelfth century, survive. Drawing was the favored technique for illustrating Terence, and this copy, with more than one hundred drawings executed by four different artists, is one of the finest. Folios 2v and 3r (illustrated), the first illustrations in the book, pair an author portrait in a classical roundel with a cabinet of antique theater masks, making plain the ancient pedigree of both the text and the images that accompany it.

The author portrait has a long history in Western book illustration, probably originating in the papyrus rolls used before the codex was developed. Medieval artists readily adopted the ancient convention of including an author portrait in their books.[3] Even as they acknowledged God as the ultimate author, medieval manuscripts used portraits of biblical "authors," especially Evangelists, to establish the reliability and authoritativeness of their content. Medieval author portraits generally showed the subject seated before his writing stand and surrounded by the accoutrements of his task. Variety of stance, setting, and emotional expression marks this highly inventive group of images. A much rarer type of author portrait appears in this manuscript and in earlier illustrated versions of Terence's plays: Terence is shown as a bust within a medallion, resting on a pedestal and supported by two masked actors. The formality of the medallion type of author portrait—its compositional symmetry and numerous allusions to classical motifs and forms—would have signaled to a medieval reader the antiquity of the image as well as the classical origins and secular nature of Terence's plays. Although the artist who drew Terence's portrait in this volume has endowed his image with a degree of liveliness not found in the earlier copies of Terence—the staid and stable pedestal has been reinterpreted as a precarious stack of disks and slabs and the groundline has morphed into an undulating row of upright volutes—he has nonetheless retained the signal features of the medallion portrait type.

The Bodleian Terence belonged to the Saint Albans monastery from at least as early as the thirteenth century and likely from the time it was made in the preceding century. As heads of one of the wealthiest English Benedictine monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the abbots of Saint Albans seem to have promoted the production and patronage of many illuminated books, particularly texts by classical and late antique



Fol. 9v, Mysis and Archylis from act I, scene 4, *The Woman of Andros*

Fols. 2v–3r, Author portrait; cupboard with theatrical masks

secular authors.[4] This manuscript, however, stands apart stylistically from most other known works associated with the Saint Albans scriptorium. The close relationship, long noted by scholars, between some of its drawings and some of the illustrations in the Winchester Bible (Cathedral Library, Winchester, 17) suggests there was a group of itinerant artists working in the region.[5] The Master of the Apocrypha Drawings is the evocative name Walter Oakeshott has assigned to one of the most accomplished of these.[6] Evidence of his hand, notable for heads set low on the shoulders, thick outlines that emphasize the hourglass form of the bodies, and lighter parallel strokes that give shape to the chest and calves, appears in several unfinished pages in the Winchester Bible and in the first two quires of the Terence manuscript. The finest of the contributors to the Terence, this artist, known as Hand A, was responsible for the author portrait and the early images for the first play, *The Women of Andros*.[7]

Oakeshott understands this master to have been principally a draftsman and believes that among the several drawings



Fig. 15.1. Mysis and Archylis from act I, scene 4, fol. 9r, *The Woman of Andros*, from the *Comedies* by Terence, 9th century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 7899

assigned to him, only those in the Terence were meant to be finished works. The preparatory drawings found in other works exhibit little more than exterior contours, but in the Terence manuscript he plays with the thickness and opacity of his line, explores texture with cross-hatching and repeated flickering strokes of his pen, and produces subtle effects of modeling with the application of a light wash. The drawings in the Terence manuscript, like those of the Prudentius volume (cat. no. 14) and astronomical texts such as the Aratus (cat. no. 13), derive from a long tradition extending at least as far back as late antiquity. As the Terence manuscript demonstrates, however, such prototypes served simply as a starting point for the skilled medieval artist.

If one compares the illustration of a scene from *The Woman of Andros* in the present copy (fol. 9v, illustrated) to one in a related ninth-century copy now in Paris (fig. 15.1), it is apparent that the Bodleian artist has retained the gestures and poses of the figures, the overall composition, and of course the graphic technique of the earlier draftsman.[8] He has, however, entirely abandoned the sketchiness of the ninth-century work, instead substantially embellishing the drapery and architecture and intensifying the facial expressions of the characters. The later drawing suggests an awareness of the content of the play that is not particularly evident in the ninth-century work. The short scene (I.iv) requires a young servant (in Latin, *ancilla*) named Mysis to speak to the housekeeper Archylis, stationed inside the house, and to remark to herself that Archylis is an old drunk. Not only did the Bodleian artist emphasize the differences in the demeanor and ages of the two women through his depiction of their hair, heights, and posture, but, perhaps in concert with the scribe, he also drew a wavy red line between the labels that read *ancilla* and Mysis. This simple stroke of the pen insures that the reader understands *ancilla* and Mysis to refer to the same young woman, an identification that the traditional placement of the label seen in the Paris manuscript does not make clear. Copying a manuscript did not mean slavish imitation in the Middle Ages. The early quires of the Bodleian Terence show a respectful reconsideration of a classic work by a master draftsman. He remained true to a long tradition of representation even as he attempted to improve it in the details.

MH

1. Dronke 1984, p. 57.
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Weitzmann 1959, pp. 116–27.
4. Thomson 1982, vol. 1, p. 40, notes that the Saint Albans copies of Prudentius, Priscian, Josephus, and Palladius are all lavishly decorated.
5. Jones and Morey 1931, pp. 92–93.
6. Oakeshott 1972, pp. 82–90, and Oakeshott 1945, pp. 8–10, 18–20, figs. XII–XVI.
7. The last illustration by this artist, on folio 17, accompanies Act III, scene 1, of that play.
8. On the relationship between the two manuscripts, which likely derive from the same archetype, see Grant 1986, pp. 145–49.

16. *Odbert Gospels*

Not in exhibition

Saint-Omer, France, early 11th century
96 folios, 32.4 × 20.8 cm (12¾ × 8³⁄₁₆ in.), 20th-century binding
Text: 4 Gospels (incomplete), in Latin
Decoration: 3 full-page Evangelist portraits; 3 incipit pages; 1 half-page miniature as dedication page
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.333

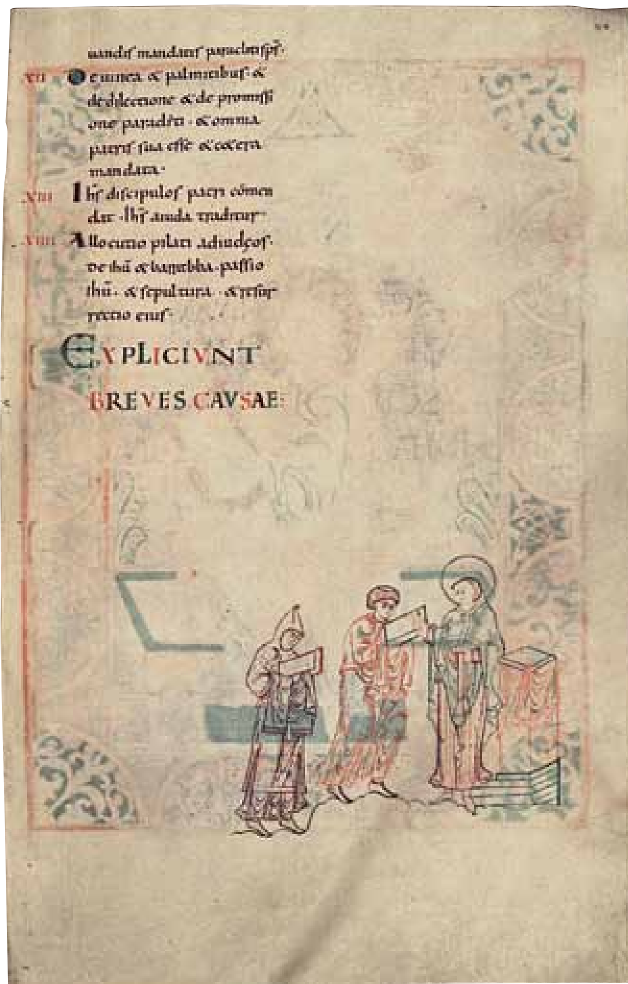
Provenance: Completed at Saint-Bertin, Saint-Omer; Beauvais Cathedral; Comte le Caron de Troussures; purchased from Comte Marie Louis le Caron de Troussures, 1907, by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913); J. P. Morgan (1867–1943); Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1924.

Selected Literature: Kelleher 1968, pp. 278–91; Alexander 1978a, pl. 21; Lowry 1993; Gameson 2006; Morgan Library website.

With three full-page Evangelist portraits facing elaborate incipit pages, the illustrations of the Odbert Gospels are the work of a skilled individual, versed in the arts of the book that flourished at the scriptorium of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer under the abbacy of Odbert (986–ca. 1007). Each Evangelist portrait combines painting and drawing, while the facing incipit pages feature golden letters on a purple-painted ground. The elaborate drawn frames surrounding these texts and images reveal the great expense lavished on the volume's illustration. In the portrait of Saint John (fol. 84v, illustrated) the artist has skillfully combined techniques to dramatic and decorative effect, silhouetting the Evangelist against the painted background and creating a sharp contrast that makes him appear to float over the page. On the facing folio (85r), the initial *I* of *In principio* is filled with lively narrative scenes, their minute personages scrambling through the surrounding foliate frame.



Fol. 84v, Evangelist John



Fol. 84r, Dedication page

Manuscripts created during the tenure of Abbot Odbert, some perhaps by his hand, stand out among the impressive books of the scriptorium at Saint–Bertin. They include examples of the Gospels, such as the present volume and one in Boulogne-sur-Mer (Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 11), translations of Aratus's *Phaenomena* (Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 188; Burgerbibliothek, Bern, Cod. 88), and poetic works including *De sobrietate* by Milo of Saint-Amand (cat. no. 19).[1] Odbert also appears to have contributed to the copying and perhaps illustration of manuscripts at the Saint-Bertin scriptorium. A glossed psalter of strikingly similar style to the present Gospel book (Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 20) includes his name as one of the artists responsible for the decoration of the manuscript.[2] Scholars have also proposed that the bibliophile abbot was depicted in a number of books attributed to the scriptorium, for example in a dedicatory picture (fol. 9v) honoring the monastery's founding father, Saint Bertin, in a manuscript currently at Saint-Omer (Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, MS 764).[3] A similar scene in the present manuscript shows the tonsured Odbert and a fellow monk presenting books to Saint Bertin, their hands covered respectfully in the presence of the holy founder of their monastic community (fol. 84r, illustrated).

Scholars have frequently noted the distinctive stylistic and iconographic features of manuscripts attributed to the Saint-Bertin manuscripts. They have focused on Odbert's enthusiastic patronage to explore the cultural exchanges revealed by the books' decoration at a particularly dynamic period of the monastery's history. Susan Lowry has argued that the bright colors and vibrant line drawings evident in the present manuscript and others produced at Saint-Bertin reveal the impact of the arrival of Anglo-Saxon books or artists at the monastery during the later years of Odbert's abbacy.[4] Exchanges between the Continent and the British Isles were particularly rich during this time, as artists, scribes, clergy, and books moved freely across the Channel. The exchange of artistic vocabulary and style is especially clear in the manuscript's dedication page, in which the figures of Odbert, the monk, and Saint Bertin are outlined with colored inks in a manner reminiscent of the extraordinary line drawings of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The appearance of the presentation page in the middle of the manuscript's text is particularly suggestive, for it seems to recall Anglo-Saxon dedicatory scenes, which were also inserted between texts.[5] Moreover, the Evangelist portraits' adroit juxtaposition of drawing and richly colored paint demonstrates further affinities with English manuscripts such as the eleventh-century Arenberg Gospels (cat. no. 9).

The richly decorated volumes produced under Odbert's aegis indicate that he was a patron with an insatiable enthusiasm for reading and for all stages of bookmaking. As a group, they offer rare insight into the workings of a monastic library and scriptorium at the turn of the eleventh century.[6]

EW

1. Gameson 2006, esp. pp. 33–48.
2. Ibid., pp. 36ff.
3. Ibid., p. 45.
4. Lowry 1993, esp. pp. 198–204.
5. See the discussion of dedication pages in the Leiden copy of Milo of Saint-Amand's *De sobrietate* (cat. no. 19).
6. For a useful discussion of Abbot Odbert, see Wilmart 1924. The Odbert Gospels are not included in his list of books attributable to the abbot, presumably because Odbert's name does not appear in the volume.



Fols. 108v–109r, Evangelist John and incipit page

17. *Corbie Gospels*

Beauvais, France, late 11th century
135 folios, 29 × 22 cm ($11\frac{7}{16} \times 8\frac{11}{16}$ in.)
Text: 4 Gospels, in Latin
Decoration: 4 full-page Evangelist portraits; 4 incipit pages; decorated initials
Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS 24 C

Provenance: Saint Pierre, Corbie; dispersed to Bibliothèque Municipale, Amiens (now Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole), after French Revolution.

Selected Literature: Paris 1954, cat. no. 131; Barcelona 1961, cat. no. 55; Cleveland 1966–67, pp. 2–11; Avril 1971; Amiens 1993, cat. no. 4; Cahn 1996, vol. 1, no. 83, vol. 2, pls. 203–206; Denoël 2005; Paris 2005, cat. no. 243; Amiens Library website.

Rendered with extraordinary panache and expressivity, the Evangelist portraits and illustrated initials of the Corbie Gospels demonstrate an impressive dynamism of line. The four writers are rendered in brown ink, their forms accentuated with bold but sparsely applied pigment. They sit between swirling columns in full-page arcades, as their draped clothes flutter in the wind and their divine attributes float ethereally above their heads. On the facing pages, the opening initials of the Gospels are accomplished in color schemes similar to those of the Evangelists' portraits. Monsters, dogs, and other creatures clamber in the interstices of the letters they engulf with their long tails and gaping mouths. Nowhere is the artist's flair clearer than in the figure of John the Evangelist (fol. 108v, illustrated). The inspired writer sits upon a claw-footed chair, his long legs and body accentuated with bold sweeps of color and line that showcase his lithe torso as he turns his attention to the roll of parchment in his right hand. On the opposite folio (109r, illustrated), the opening letter *I* is surmounted by an elaborate knot, as a fantastic creature stretches to form the crossbar of the letter *N*. The play between painting, on the page showing John, and drawing, on the facing page of text, occurs again in the folios devoted to the other Evangelists and the pages opposite them. The repeated



Fol. 108v, Evangelist John

juxtaposition of drawing and painting and the consistency of color throughout the manuscript visually link the Evangelists and the sacred texts they penned.

Although the Gospels were documented at the abbey of Saint Pierre in Corbie in the seventeenth century, the identification of the scriptorium in which the manuscript was created is widely debated. Scholars have considered a series of books whose related illustrations might shed light on a master artist or workshop responsible for the present volume. François Avril first described the hand responsible for these manuscripts, which he called as the Master of the Corbie Gospels, whose distinctive style he discerns in a copy of Saint Augustine's *Treatise on Genesis* (Bibliothèque Municipale, Beauvais, MS 25) and in a *Gloss on Genesis* (formerly Phillipps Collection, 3380).[1] Indeed, the human and animal figures in these manuscripts parallel those of the Corbie Gospels, sharing the same skillful combination of accomplished line drawing and vibrant color. Charlotte Denoël has expanded the list of manuscripts demonstrating marked stylistic affinities with the Corbie Gospels (Évora, Cod. CXXV/2-1 and 2, Bible; Sainte-Geneviève, MS 134, *Vitae*; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Lat. 16940; Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*).[2] Careful analysis of the books' decorative elements leads Denoël to argue that the style and form of certain details, such as the drawn knot and leaf motifs of the initial letters, can be traced to workshops in Normandy and England. Through these parallels the scriptorium that produced this volume can be linked to broad cultural exchanges in northern France at the end of the eleventh and during the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Avril and others have associated the Corbie Gospels with the scriptorium at Saint-Quentin at Beauvais, an idea that hinges on the intriguing possibility that the manuscript may have been the work of a documented artist.[3] The enciphered signature of a certain "Rothardus" appears in a copy of the Beauvais *Treatise on Genesis*, a manuscript particularly close to the Corbie Gospels in style and iconography.[4] Avril has suggested that this artist can be identified in turn with a "Rothardus" whose name appears in a 1091 registry at Saint-Quentin. It is difficult, however, to ascertain whether the Rothardus in the monastery's list was in fact the same Rothardus who signed the Beauvais manuscript, or even if he can be considered responsible for the masterly, albeit unsigned, drawings of the Corbie Gospels. Although the precise provenance of the manuscript remains uncertain, its accomplished draftsmanship indicates that the Gospels were decorated in a scriptorium of some importance around the turn of the twelfth century, perhaps at Saint-Quentin, but certainly in one whose artists had access to a variety of books and a repertory of inventive styles from Normandy and beyond.

EW

1. Avril 1971.
2. Denoël 2005.
3. See also Cahn 1996, vol. 1, no. 83, vol. 2, pls. 203–206; Paris 2005, cat. no. 243.
4. Avril 1971, p. 188.

18. *Bible of Stephen Harding,* Part II

Cîteaux, France, 1109
132 folios, 47.4 × 32.6 cm (12⅜ × 8¾ in.)
Text: 4 Gospels; Epistles; Apocalypse, in Latin
Decoration: historiated and ornamental initials throughout
Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, MS 15

Provenance: Completed at monastery, Cîteaux, 1109; dispersed to Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, after French Revolution.

Selected Literature: Oursel 1926, pp. 34–43; Dijon 1953, cat. no. 46; Oursel 1959; Oursel 1960, pls. 12–21; Cahn 1982, no. 66; Zaluska 1989, pp. 63–111; Cahn 1996, vol. 2, no. 58 (illus.).

The monastery of Cîteaux in Burgundy played a central role in the foundation of the Cistercian movement, which sought to revitalize monastic life through strict observance of Benedictine rule.[1] Within decades of the movement's establishment in 1098, the monastery's library could boast more than one hundred tomes of extraordinary quality, a number that would continue to grow over the course of the following centuries.[2] These volumes included theological works, several scriptural commentaries, and a luxury Bible produced for one of the founders of the Cistercian order, Saint Stephen Harding, abbot from 1108 to 1133. Harding himself was a newcomer to Burgundy: born in Dorset, England, and educated at Sherborne, Paris, and Rome, the polyglot monk migrated to France where he joined the community led by Abbot Robert of Molesme (ca. 1029–1111), who had founded the order at Cîteaux. Upon



Fol. 56v, Opening to the Gospel of John and the punishment of Arius

Robert's death, Harding followed in the footsteps of his mentor and was elected abbot of the community in 1108. He commissioned the monumental, four-part Bible shortly thereafter, in 1109.[3]

Although Bibles were illuminated throughout Europe during the Romanesque period, the stylistic peculiarities of the copy commissioned by Harding offer precious insight into the activities of the vibrant scriptorium at Cîteaux in the early twelfth century.[4] The attention given to line drawings in the Bible is striking; equally intriguing are certain iconographic features of the illustrations, which suggest active engagement with sophisticated theological debates. One noteworthy example is the drawing that prefaces the opening of the Gospel of John (fol. 56v, illustrated). Here, a centaur's body curves to form the opening letters of the holy words, while its left hand supports a horn that sounds the good news (illustrated). Another illustration depicts the punishment of Arius (d. 336) in which the eagle, symbol of the Evangelist John, picks out the eyes of a tonsured heretic (on the same page). Both illustrations are carried out in a pairing of paint and delicate line drawing, a combination featured throughout the Bible that links the four volumes stylistically. Walter Cahn and others have noted similarities with English, particularly Anglo-Saxon, models that may have served as the inspiration for the particular combination of line drawings and paint in the Harding Bible and other northern French manuscripts, such as the Odbert Gospels (cat. no. 16).[5] Another parallel to English manuscripts is suggested in the iconography of the scene showing the triumph over Arianism. The depiction of the subject in the Bible is closely comparable to its treatment in the Anglo-Saxon Eadui Gospels of about 1020 (Museum August Kestner, Hanover, WMXXIa 36).[6] In both books, the violence depicted symbolically reflects theological debates about triumphs over the doctrines of the heretical Arius.

Other twelfth-century books from the scriptorium at Cîteaux show comparable complexity in both design and iconographic content. These include an extraordinary illustration of the Jesse tree in a copy of Jerome's *Commentaries* (fig. 12).[7] In the Jerome manuscript, the artist's arrangement of painted and drawn elements across the gutter of the book shows a remarkable awareness of the inherent possibilities of the page. The artist who decorated the *Commentaries* was both skilled with his pen and a thoughtful student of the theological implications of Isaiah's prophecy. His unusual depiction of the Virgin and Child draws upon Byzantine representations known as the Virgin Eleousa, and its appearance in the Cîteaux manuscript suggests a complex awareness of the implications of Isaiah's prophecy and Marian belief.[8]

The collection of books at Cîteaux and the erudition displayed in illustrations indicate that the monks and artists at this monastery were actively invested in theological debates about the centrality of orthodox belief. Their scrupulous consideration of correct doctrine is confirmed in the colophon of the Stephen Harding Bible, which claims that the accuracy of its Latin Vulgate text was verified alongside the Hebrew Bible and received the imprimatur of Jewish rabbis fluent in the language.[9] The material evidence of the books produced in the scriptorium of Cîteaux, drawing upon both Byzantine and Anglo-Saxon sources, suggests that it was a center attuned to scholarly discussions taking place far beyond the secluded monastery walls. The high quality of the Bible's illustrations not only demonstrates the skills of the Cîteaux artists but also indicates the sophistication of the milieu in which such doctrinal debates would have been enthusiastically conducted. EW

1. See Mainz 1998–99.
2. Extensive discussion of workshop practices at Cîteaux can be found in Zaluska 1989, pp. 9–61 and *passim*.
3. In MS 13, fol. 150, "liber iste finem sumpsit scribendi" in 1109 at Cîteaux during the governance of Harding.
4. The decoration of Romanesque Bibles has been extensively studied by Walter Cahn; see Cahn 1982, pp. 136–43, with special emphasis on Burgundy.
5. See Cahn 1996, vol. 2, no. 58.
6. In Temple 1976, no. 67.
7. For illustrations of the *Commentaries,* see Cahn 1996, vol. 2, no. 62.
8. Gérard Cames has noted that the appearance of hovering angels with covered hands finds a parallel in Byzantine icons and argues that their presence here reflects a complex understanding of theological positions assigned to Mary's christological role; see Cames 1979, pp. 242–47.
9. Paris 2005, cat. no. 170.

19. *De sobrietate* by Milo of Saint-Amand

Saint-Bertin, France, early 11th century
36 folios, 16.8 × 13.5 cm (6⅝ × 5 15/16 in.)
Text: *De sobrietate* by Milo of Saint-Amand; *Versus de die iudicii* by Bede; *Praecepta vivendi* by Alcuin of York
Decoration: 1 full-page author portrait
Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, BPL 190

PROVENANCE: Benedictines of Saint-Bertin, Saint-Omer; in 1716 catalogue Biblioteca Publica Latina (B.P.L.), Leiden, 1716; now Universiteitsbibliotheek.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Molhuysen 1912, p. 92; Byvanck 1931, p. 77; Boutemy 1950; Kelleher 1968, pp. 73–74; Leiden 1987–88, cat. no. 17.

The library of Saint-Bertin once held an astonishing variety of books, whose numbers were greatly increased under the Abbot Odbert (986–ca. 1007). These included scientific treatises, saints' vitae, sacred texts, such as the Odbert Gospels (cat. no. 16), and poetic works, among them *De sobrietate* (On Sobriety) by Milo of Saint-Amand.[1] The poet Milo (ca. 809–871/72) was active at the monastery of Saint-Amand, not far from the monastic community of Saint-Bertin in northern France. He composed the poem *De sobrietate* toward the end of his life. His nephew, the poet Hucbald, is said to have presented the poem to Charles the Bald shortly after his uncle's death, firmly placing Milo within the orbit of prestigious court poets of the Carolingian period.[2]

De sobrietate is a moralizing work, whose two-volume form mirrors the division of the Old and New Testaments. Its introductory verses laud the emperor and explain that the poet was inspired to write his text upon hearing his fellow-monks singing during evening prayer. Milo promises to provide "useful weapons of holy abstinence against the cook of Babylon, zealously taken from the quivers of Holy Scripture."[3] The poem's stern tone calls to mind works popular among monastic communities. These included the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (cat. no. 14) and the writings of the early Anglo-Saxon scholar Aldhelm of Sherborne (ca. 639–709), which certainly inspired Milo's text.

Although missing several verses and pages, the present text, now in Leiden, is largely complete and is bound with other moralizing works, including Bede's *Versus de die iudicii* (Verses on the Day of Judgment) and Alcuin of York's *Praecepta vivendi* (Guidelines for Living). Of the five surviving copies of *De sobrietate,* the Leiden manuscript is the only one that depicts the poet (fol. 26v, illustrated).[4] In his portrait Milo appears kneeling in prayer near his modest bed, his long fingers extended in supplication to the hand of God emerging from the distant church. A simple curtain draped over the branch of a tree suggests the humble monk's unpretentious accommodations. The drawing's charm and immediacy are apparent in the impressionistically rendered lines and restrained use of color to highlight the monk's shoulder, his tonsured head, and the rich drapery of his robes. An inscription indicates that the portrait is an expression of appreciation, declaring, *Poeta gratias agit Deo pro expleto opere suo* (The poet thanks God for the completion of his work). The charming scene calls to mind Milo's description of himself as "the feeblest of priests but the greatest of sinners," a lowly servant of both earthly and heavenly lords.[5]

The composition of the portrait most closely recalls author pages in which depictions of pious patrons and illustrious writers preface the opening lines of their manuscripts. The depiction of Milo is unusual in that it follows instead of precedes the text. As a representation of a recent Carolingian author, rather than a figure from antiquity, it departs even further from an otherwise standard theme. Unconventional, too, is the artist's use of an inscription to voice Milo's thanks for divine assistance and by extension, his own gratitude. This point must have resonated powerfully for the monks at Saint-Bertin, who may have seen themselves and their own quarters in the portrayal of the tonsured Milo and his unassuming chamber. Representations of monks appear on a dedication page in at least one other drawing from the Saint-Bertin scriptorium (folio 84r from the Odbert Gospels). Related stylistically to the Milo manuscript, the Odbert page shows two monks, one perhaps Abbot Odbert himself, presenting books to a haloed ecclesiastic, likely the monastery's patron, Saint Bertin. Similar dedicatory images punctuate, rather than introduce, the pages in a series of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts produced in monastic centers. These include a tenth-century copy of Aldhelm's *De virginitate,* in which a group of nuns receive a book from the author (Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 200, fol. 68v), and a page from the early eleventh-century Eadui Psalter (fol. 133r, fig. 11), where monks approach Saint Benedict with a book inscribed with his rule.[6]

Milo's poetry seems to have been especially appreciated in the monastic circles of England and northern France, for surviving copies of *De sobrietate* can be placed in scriptoria or libraries of monasteries in these areas, among them Cambridge, Gloucester, and Corbie.[7] Moreover, books created in the Saint-Bertin workshop during the abbacy of Odbert demonstrate particular affinities with Anglo-Saxon models, as monks carried books across the Channel and as local artists worked alongside those who had traveled to the mainland.[8] While the most salient similarities reside in the fluid line drawings that decorate the manuscripts, the very selections of texts and the functions of their accompanying images reveal a rich network of exchange between local and Anglo-Saxon artists who drew inspiration from a wide array of books. Thus the parallels between Anglo-Saxon books and the portrait page of Milo are evident not only in the pen drawing delineating the poet and his abode. They are



Fol. 26v, Portrait of Milo

also apparent in the whose deliberate placement of the portrait within the framework of the text, which calls to mind the dedicatory pages of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

EW

1. Kelleher 1968; Gameson 2006.

2. Szövérffy 1970, pp. 673–74. See also Godman 1985, pp. 61–62.

3. Godman 1985, poem no. 54 (pp. 310–13), including translation. The entire text of Milo's *Carmen de sobrietate* can be found in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* (Berlin, 1881–), vol. 3, pp. 613ff.

4. The other manuscripts are Valenciennes 414 and 415 (both dated to the mid-ninth century and considered the oldest copies); British Library, London, Royal A.X12; University Library, Cambridge, GG. 5. 35; Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 5254–5267; and a "lost" manuscript thought to be at Corbie. In *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Poetae,* vol. 3, pp. 560–61.

5. Godman 1985, p. 311.

6. The text above the drawing (fol. 68v) corresponds to the opening dedicatory lines of Aldhelm's *De virginitate* and is considered to begin the second part of his complete works (Temple 1976, no. 39; see also *Patrologia latina,* vol. 89, 103C, in which *De virginitate* begins under "Sancti Aldhelmi Schireburnensis episcopi tractatus sive ejus operum pars secunda"). In the Eadui Psalter, the miniature (fol. 133r) appears between the psalms and the canticles (Temple 1976, no. 66).

7. *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Poetae,* vol. 3, provenance notes, p. 561.
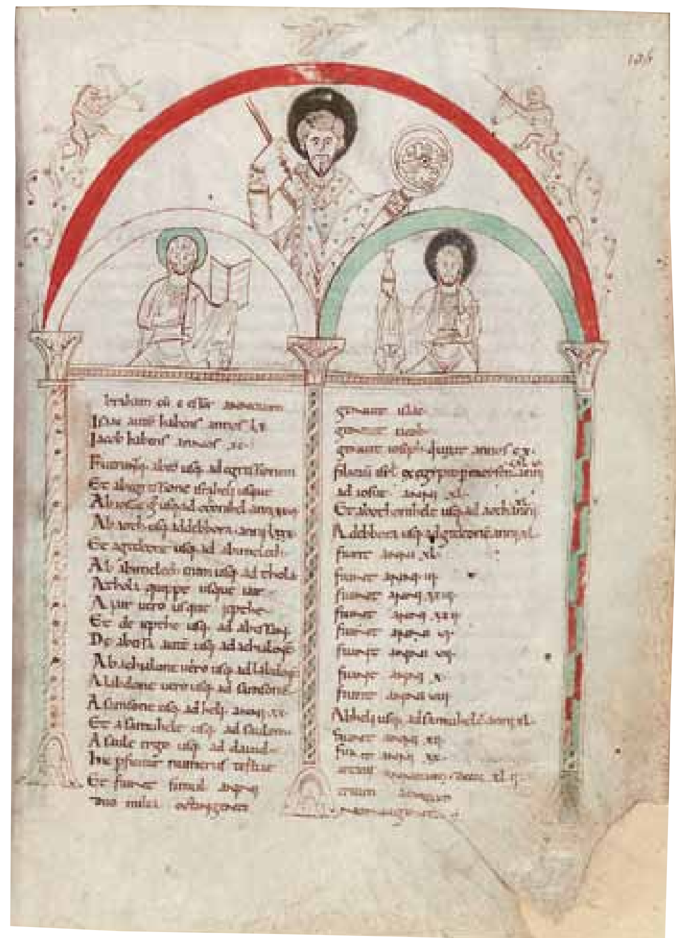
8. Lowry 1993, pp. 198–204.

20. Ingelard, *Miscellany of Historical and Cosmological Texts*

Paris, France, mid-11th century
184 folios, 34 × 25 cm (13⅜ × 9¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Text: Miscellaneous selections including poem on weights and measures by Rhemnius Fannius; *Recognitiones* by Pseudo-Pope Clement; *Annals of Saint-Germain-des-Prés*; computus by Helperic of Auxerre; *De astronomia* (excerpts) by Hyginus
Decoration: 10 pages of figural drawings; series of constellation drawings; computistical charts, lunar diagrams; decorated initials
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 12117

Provenance: Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, 1795–96.

Selected Literature: Niver 1928; Paris 1954, cat. no. 249; Deslandres 1955; Alexander 1970, pp. 67, 138, pls. 11a, 32d; Mandragore website.



Fol. 106r, Abraham as astronomer

From the colophon of a lectionary once housed at the library of the celebrated Parisian monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 11751), we learn of a *scriptor honestus* named Ingelard who displayed his talents during the abbacy of Adraldus (1030–1060).[1] Though the colophon describes Ingelard as a copyist of merit, it explicitly indicates that he was responsible for the decoration of the manuscript: several initials, and two full-page illuminations, notably rendered as assured outline drawings occasionally set off against areas of paint. Ingelard's distinctive approach to book decoration appears in at least eight known manuscripts including the present one, which offers the most thoroughgoing demonstration of his skills.

An intriguing compilation of historical and scientific works, this book bears the traces of several scribal hands, yet it exhibits remarkable consistency in its many illustrations. It would seem,



Fols. 107v–108r, Presentation in the Temple, Dream of Joseph, Flight into Egypt, and Presentation in the Temple

therefore, that Ingelard was responsible for the entire decorative program. In addition to several historiated initials and a number of diagrams, including an equatorial sundial (fol. 2v), the manuscript contains some fourteen pages of constellation drawings (some with painted additions), which accompany portions of an astrological text by Hyginus (fols. 131–37). Among the signature features of these illustrations are elaborate snowflakelike motifs that indicate stars, an exuberant adaptation of the simple dots inherited from antique models and employed by most medieval artists (see cat. no. 13).

The most innovative drawings appear earlier in the book, as part of the so-called Annals of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, a listing of the generations of humankind beginning with the first man, Adam, and concluding with the Carolingian rulers. Drawn from a chronicle compiled by the English monk Bede (672/73–735), the list organizes the generations into six ages, a traditional medieval scheme for representing the course of world history (cat. no. 31). As in the canon tables of many Gospel books, a colonnaded arcade unites the text and frames the information given on each page. Ingelard uses the arch or arches above the text to provide the setting for the six figures who each herald the beginning of each age. Hence, Adam appears in the first arch (fol. 105r). Noah—unusually represented in a priestly guise making sacrifices of thanks after the Flood—is second (fol. 105v), followed by an extraordinary image of Abraham presented as an emperor-like astronomer (fol. 106r, illustrated).[2] The next two ages, represented by King David and King Cyrus the Great, share a single page (fol. 106v), but the sixth age, ushered in by the birth of Christ, luxuriates in a three-page sequence (fols. 107–108r) showing a multiscene narrative of the Nativity. Here in the Christian age, the text beneath the arches makes clear, reside the rulers of recent memory, specifically the Carolingian kings dear to France.[3]

The present opening shows the second and third pages of the Nativity narrative (fols. 107v–108r, illustrated). On the left appears the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Here Ingelard ingeniously evokes the three-columned scheme found on earlier pages by transforming the central capital into an altar on which the Christ child sits. On the page on the right, the Dream of Joseph and the Flight into Egypt appear in the arch at the top, while the Presentation of the Magi, complete with one of Ingelard's notable stars, fills the folio's entire bottom half. Ingelard's

delight in depicting the richly jeweled borders of garments is much in evidence on these pages, as is his expressive use of gesture. Unexpected figures such as the trumpeting monkey perched atop the city gate and the interested onlookers both in the Temple and in and around the city, together with Ingelard's whimsical architectural forms, lend vivid animation to his illustrations.

Ingelard, like many of his contemporaries in monastic scriptoria north of Paris, deployed the pen to great effect. Numerous examples of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts from the abbeys of Saint-Bertin (cat. nos. 16, 19), Saint-Vaast d'Arras, Saint-Amand, and Saint-Omer rely in their illuminations upon line that is only minimally enhanced with color. As a group they suggest that the artists of a large number of monasteries in Romanesque France considered line drawing a suitable medium for a wide variety of books. The manuscripts of Ingelard, one of the rare named artists of this period who can be linked to a substantial body of work, confirm this supposition. Ingelard moved deftly from liturgical books to hagiographic texts, from theological works to scientific and historical treatises, which together offer an impressive demonstration of one medieval draftsman's versatility. MH

1. For the text of the colophon, see Deslandres 1955, p. 3.
2. Borelli 2008, pp. 210–13.
3. The Journey of the Magi appears on the next page (fol. 108v) as the accompaniment of a different historical chronology that traces the origins of the Carolingian rulers back to the mythical first leaders of Rome.

21. *Privilegium Imperatoris,* Charter Issued by Alfonso VII, King of Castile and León

Castile, Spain, 12th century
Single sheet, 36.7 × 29.5 cm (14 7/16 × 11 5/8 in.)
Text: Charter granting land, in Latin
Decoration: 1 drawing
The Hispanic Society of America, New York, B16

Provenance: Entered collection of Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1925.

Selected Literature: Hispanic Society 1954, pp. xxxvii, 373, fig. 276; Spalding 1972, pp. 301–3; Faulhaber 1983–93, pt. 2, no. 601; Lanaghan 2000, no. 13.

A lively drawing adorns this twelfth-century Spanish legal document that records the transfer of land from the ruler of Castile-León to a local abbot. The principals line up across the bottom of the sheet in a pictorial equivalent of the transaction the charter describes. The recipient of the land, Willelmus, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Santa María de San Martín de Valdeiglesias, the twelfth-century remains of which can still be seen near Madrid, stands at center, his hand raised in blessing. To the right appears Alfonso VII, who grants the land. Alfonso extends a branch as a gesture of donation; behind him with shield and sword is his major-domo, Count Ponce. To the left of the abbot stand Alfonso's sons, Sancho III, king of Castile, and Fernando II, king of León, the latter also presenting a branch. A decorative frame surrounds the group, with Willelmus sheltered by a colonnaded arch that calls to mind contemporary ecclesiastical architecture. The artist clearly revels in surface



Fig. 21.1. Plaque with the Journey to Emmaus and *Noli me tangere*, León, ca. 1115–20, ivory carving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.47)

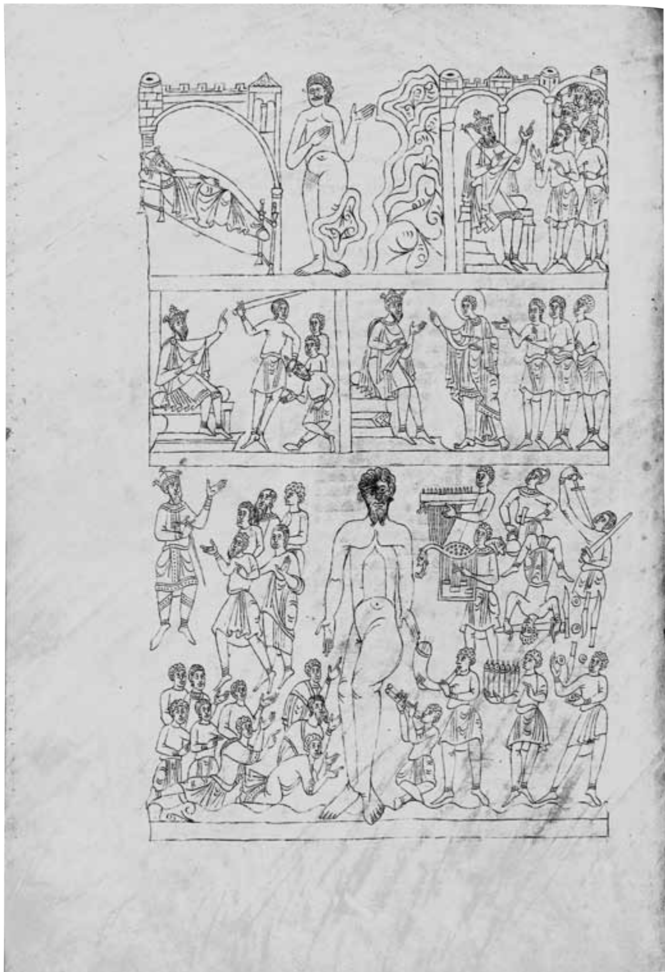


Fig. 21.2. Dream of Nebuchannezzar and Idol, fol. 64v, Roda Bible, vol. III, Catalonia, 11th century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 6

decoration: frame and columns offer a veritable encyclopedia of ornamental patterns. Indeed, variation seems to be the guiding principle behind the entire composition, a notion readily confirmed by a quick survey of the figures' feet: each man assumes a different stance. The jiglike crisscrossing of the abbot's legs contrasts with the more stable balletic positions of the sons. The king's solid frontal bearing distinguishes him from the major-domo, who twists toward his lord.

The illustration with its identifying inscriptions offers a fascinating redundancy of information, as if the artist, who was also likely the scribe, was obsessed with a legalistic desire to clarify the identities, significance, and role of each individual pictured. Rather than providing a label within the picture frame and next to each figure, as is usual in medieval manuscripts, the scribe/artist has left the picture free of text. He has, however, written the names of the figures above the frame and assigned each a letter of the alphabet, using a labeling method seemingly more modern than medieval. Thus, the letter *b* appears above the frame in the space between the two sons; their names, King Sancho and King Ferdinand, float above this. The letter *c* designates Willelmus, identified as a representative of the church. The artist/scribe appropriately assigns the first letter of the alphabet, *a,* to Alfonso, who had been declared emperor in 1135, while Ponce, his companion, is marked with a *d*. The inscription beneath the picture defines the relationships and legal roles, relying upon the letter assigned to each figure rather than their subjects' names. Thus, *a* appears below the word "father"; *b* below "progeny"; *c* below "abbot"; and *d* below "witness." In the same vein, the inscription that follows presents each person's actions: *a* donates, *b* confirms, *c* acquires, and *d* verifies. In their mutual reinforcement of one another, these textual and pictorial reiterations assert the authenticity of the document.

Embellished legal documents were hardly oddities in early medieval Spain, though it is a category generally reserved for presentation copies; these were most often but not always of royal origin.[1] The amount and type of decoration signaled the prestige and position of the donor and the relative importance of the document. Of the seven extant copies of a document recording a donation made in 1098 by Pedro I (r. 1094–1104) to the diocese of Jaca-Haesca, two examples have drawings of the enthroned king handing the royal privilege to the bishop.[2] Other kinds of decoration include a circular device, called the *signo rodado* or *ruedo.* Alfonso VII's son Ferdinand was one of the first kings to use the *ruedo* to authenticate his documents; in time, these symbols became a distinctive feature of royal documents from Castile and grew ever more elaborate. Cartularies, manuscript volumes containing transcriptions of the legal documents important to a particular foundation or institution, were also decorated. They range from an early example from Leyre (Navarra, Pamplona) adorned with a simple line drawing to the extravagant early twelfth-century *Liber testamentorum* (MS 1*)* in the Oviedo Cathedral archives, which includes among its miniatures six full-page color illuminations depicting numerous royal benefactors offering privileges to the cathedral.[3]

In the tenth and eleventh centuries color and pattern were dominant in the manuscript painting of León, but after the area began to experience contact with France in the later eleventh century, Spanish artists grew more comfortable with the aesthetic developing north of the Alps, an aesthetic that depended more heavily on line than their did own tradition. The scriptoria of other Spanish regions also came to embrace the use of line drawings, with and without the addition of color, to ornament their luxury manuscripts. The eleventh-century Catalonian Bibles of Ripoll (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Cod. Lat. 5729) and Roda (fig. 21.2) as well as the early thirteenth-century Pamplona Bibles from Navarre (Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, MS Lat. 108, and Castle Harburg, MS I, 2, Lat. 4°15) employ extensive cycles of illustrations that are minimally enhanced with color.

Given the long tradition of rich color and pattern in Léonese manuscripts, it is perhaps not surprising that ivory sculptures of

the region, with their monochrome aesthetic, provide the closest stylistic parallels to the present work. The bulbous eyes, long noses, rectangular faces, and exceptionally long fingers of the figures on a contemporary ivory plaque in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 21.1) recall similar features of the protagonists of the charter. In both the manuscript and the plaque, moreover, the hair is treated as striated segments and beards show curlicue terminations. The remarkable drapery in each presents the most striking stylistic similarities. The textured surface created by strongly articulated folds, enlivened with occasional spirals, dots, and cross-hatching in both drawing and ivory, speaks to the lively aesthetic that characterizes the art of the region.

MH

1. On the later practice in France, see Paris 2007a and Brunel 2005.
2. One is in the Cathedral Archive of Jaca; see New York 1993–94, cat. no. 146. The other is in the Cathedral Archive of Huesca; see Bucher 1970, vol. 1, fig. 68.
3. See Bucher 1970, vol. 2, fig. 63, for the Leyre Cartulary. On the Oviedo manuscript (1451), see Domínguez Bordona 1930, vol. 1, pls. 69–76, and New York 1993–94, cat. no. 149.
4. For the Ripoll and Roda Bibles, see Mundó 2002. On the Pamplona Bibles, see Bucher 1970.

22. *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville

Prüfening, Germany, ca. 1160–65
103 folios, 36 × 24.5 cm (14 3/16 × 9 5/8 in.), 1576 binding
Text: first 9 books of *Etymologies*, in Latin
Decoration: 1 full-page scribal portrait; 1 full-page consanguinity chart; decorated initials
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 13031

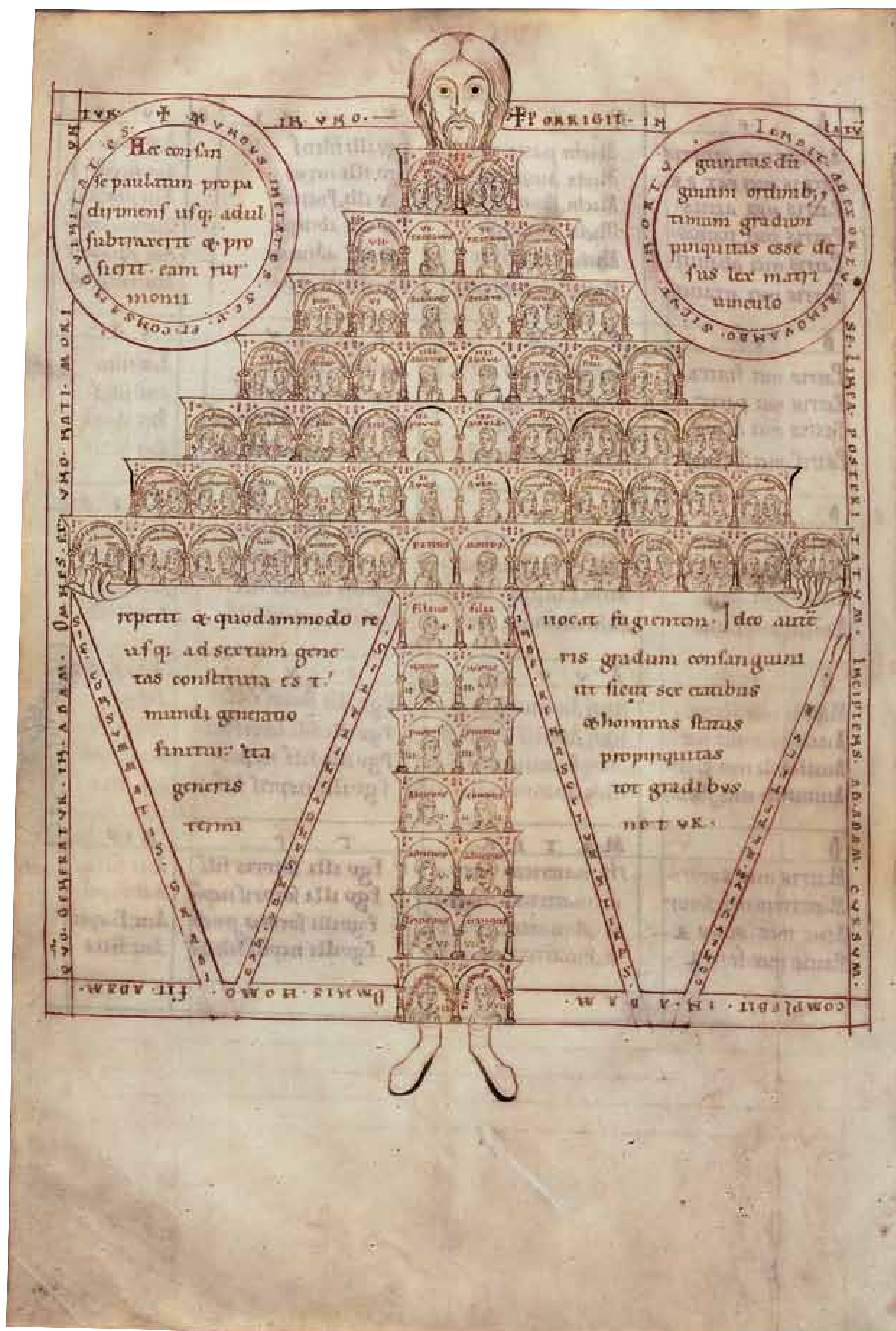
PROVENANCE: In 1165 and 1347 catalogues of Saint George, Prüfening; Stadtbibliothek Regensburg, 1558–72; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, after 1812.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Boeckler 1924, pp. 15–18; Schmitz 1975, pp. 121–23; Esmeijer 1978, p. 113, fig. 97; Klemm 1980, no. 89; Schadt 1982, pp. 93, 97–99, 130; Caviness 1983, fig. 7; Cologne 1985, cat. no. B39; Regensburg 1987, cat. no. 33, pls. 23, III; Sears 2006.

A gallery of tiny heads softens the severe geometry of this diagram, an emphatically symmetrical arrangement of ruled lines and circles drawn with the compass. Used to determine degrees of kinship, this chart invites careful scrutiny to discern the facial features and expressions that slightly differentiate the pairs of men and women within the arcade. Note, for example, the change in the appearance of men's facial hair as the images ascend the left side of the central vertical axis. The drawing serves as a visual accompaniment to Book Nine of a now-incomplete copy of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies,* produced at the Benedictine abbey of Saint George in Prüfening (fol. 102v). The diagram supplements the discussion of family relationships that appears in the final chapters of the section of Isidore's encyclopedic work devoted to elements and systems of social organization, which includes such topics as language, peoples, the military, and government. The hands, feet, and impassive face of Adam, placed at the cardinal points of the image, reinforce the chart's rigid symmetry and give visual expression to the inscription in the rectangular frame surrounding the sheet. Drawing upon the Christian idea that Christ is the new Adam, both text and image assert that human existence begins in Adam and will be completed in Adam.[1]

The manuscript exemplifies the products of the very active scriptorium of Prüfening and the neighboring Bavarian monastery of Regensburg at mid-twelfth century. Biblical and liturgical manuscripts were few; scribes there specialized, rather, in patristic, theological, and scientific reference works for the monastic library. Pen drawings in brown and red typically adorn these manuscripts, some of which rely on a single commanding figure, such as the Adam we see here, to carry the page. Others, for example, the *Dialogue Praising the Holy Cross* (cat. no. 24), feature an orderly narrative. All are notable for the precision of their line and the clarity of their composition.

The *Etymologies,* a compendium of received knowledge compiled by the learned Isidore, bishop of Seville (ca. 560–636), in the early seventh century, makes surprisingly little use of clarifying illustrations, but it does refer to three stemmata in the section treating family relationships. In its inclusion of a consanguinity chart, the Prüfening manuscript conforms to a long tradition of typical Isidorean illustration. Here, as in most consanguinity charts, the "ego," that is, the person from whom all degrees of relationship are measured, stands unmarked in the center of the diagram, with father and mother (inscribed *pater* and *mater*) above and son and daughter (inscribed *filius* and *filia*) below. Images of direct ancestors and descendants continue along the central vertical axis while the horizontal boxes arranged in the shape of a stepped triangle represent the secondary relationships of aunts, uncles, and cousins. Roman numerals in each box make clear the precise degree of consanguinity. The earliest charts—rather sober



Fol. 102v, Consanguinity chart

lineups of squares or circles—in time came to evoke family trees literally, with vines, leaves, and birds. The anthropomorphic format seen here gained currency in the twelfth century and had a long life in later medieval illustrations.[2]

Like many consanguinity charts, the present work includes a passage from Isidore's encyclopedia describing and justifying the limits of kinship at six degrees (IX.vi.29). Unusually, however, it deploys Isidore's words as a formal element in a larger design. The text is neatly positioned to fit within the two medallions above the arms and the pair of inverted triangles below. Each line of the inscription reads continuously across the page assuring the cohesiveness of the whole; sentences and even single words break and leap over the intervening figure to come to their conclusion. The inscriptions in the framing elements—whether within the outer rectangle, or the circles surrounding the medallions at top, or the zigzag lines descending from and ascending to the figure's arms—seem to be an invention of the Prüfening monastery. They share a preoccupation with the harmonious nature of human existence and the cosmological order, thereby teasing out the implication of the encyclopedia's characterization of kinship as a system perfectly balanced through the mechanisms of biology and law. Marriage recovers the bonds of kinship at the latter degrees, just at the point at which consanguinity diminishes, "call[ing] it back," in the words of Isidore, "as it slips away."[3]

The consanguinity chart, like many of the Regensburg-Prüfening miniatures, argues for the effectiveness of pen drawing as a partner to script in presenting a deliberate, often original intellectual program. The uniform use of reddish brown ink for both pictures and words diminishes distinctions between the two. With words used as design elements and images used to convey a specific theological point, the seemingly discrete functions of the visual and the verbal collapse into an effective system of mutual reinforcement, a simulation of the cosmological balance the diagram as a whole artfully asserts.

MH

1. The inscription in the frame reads: *Porrigit in latu[m] se linea posteritatum / Incipiens ab Adam cursum complebit in Adam / Omnis homo fit Adam quo[niam] generatur in Adam / Omnes ex uno nati moriuntur in uno / Mundus in etates sex et consanguinitates / Tendit ab exortu renovando sicut in ortu. / Sic consummatis gradibus consanguinitatis inde renascetur stirps coniugium repetetur.* (The lineage of posterity extends onto [the figure's] side / Beginning from Adam, it will complete its course in Adam / Every man is made as Adam because he has been begotten in Adam / All born from one will die in one / The world has six ages and six consanguinities / It extends from its origin by renewing itself just as in birth. / Thus the consanguinity is achieved in steps, from whence the lineage may be renewed and the union repeated.)
2. Schadt 1982.
3. *Etymologies* IX.vi.29, translated in Barney et al. 2006, p. 210.

23. *Salomon Glossaries and Miscellaneous Drawings*

Prüfening, Germany, 1158 and 1165
229 folios, 55.8 × 38.5 cm. (21 15/16 × 15 3/16 in.), 16th-century binding
Text: Part I, miscellaneous texts with drawings: medical schemata; medical manuscript; inventory of Prüfening treasury; library catalogue; Virtues and Vices personified with exemplary scenes; drawings of Heavenly Jerusalem and Man as Microcosm; Part II, glossaries said to be compiled by Bishop Salomon of Constance; other glossaries; documents relating to church of Saint George, Prüfening
Decoration: 8 pages of drawings in Part I; decorated initials in Part II
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 13002

Provenance: In 1165 catalogue of Saint George, Prüfening; Stadtbibliothek Regensburg, 1558–72; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, after 1812.

Selected Literature: Sudhoff 1907, pp. 51–65 (illus.); O'Neill 1969; Klemm 1980, no. 87; Regensburg 1987, cat. no. 34 (with bibl.).

Even among the numerous learned and thoughtfully illustrated manuscripts associated with the scriptorium at the Benedictine abbey of Saint George in Prüfening, this manuscript stands out for its large size and for the scope of its contents. The choice of texts and images makes this luxury volume the single best document of the monastery's activities, interests, and holdings during the century in which it was founded. The manuscript comprises two parts. The earlier second part, firmly dated to 1158, consists largely of two glossaries attributed to Salomon III, abbot of Saint Gall and bishop of Constance (d. 919).[1] As alphabetically arranged lexicons, part dictionary, part encyclopedia, the glossaries attest to the desire of the librarian, Wolfger, to stock the abbey's library with comprehensive reference tools.[2] The first part of the volume, definitively dated to 1165, includes not only an inventory of precious objects in the treasury and a systematic catalogue of books amassed since the abbey's foundation in 1109 (compiled by Wolfger) but also an array of

drawings reflecting the monks' intellectual concerns.[3] A rich compendium of useful images only minimally annotated with text, this first section confirms the crucial role of drawings in learned medieval discourse.

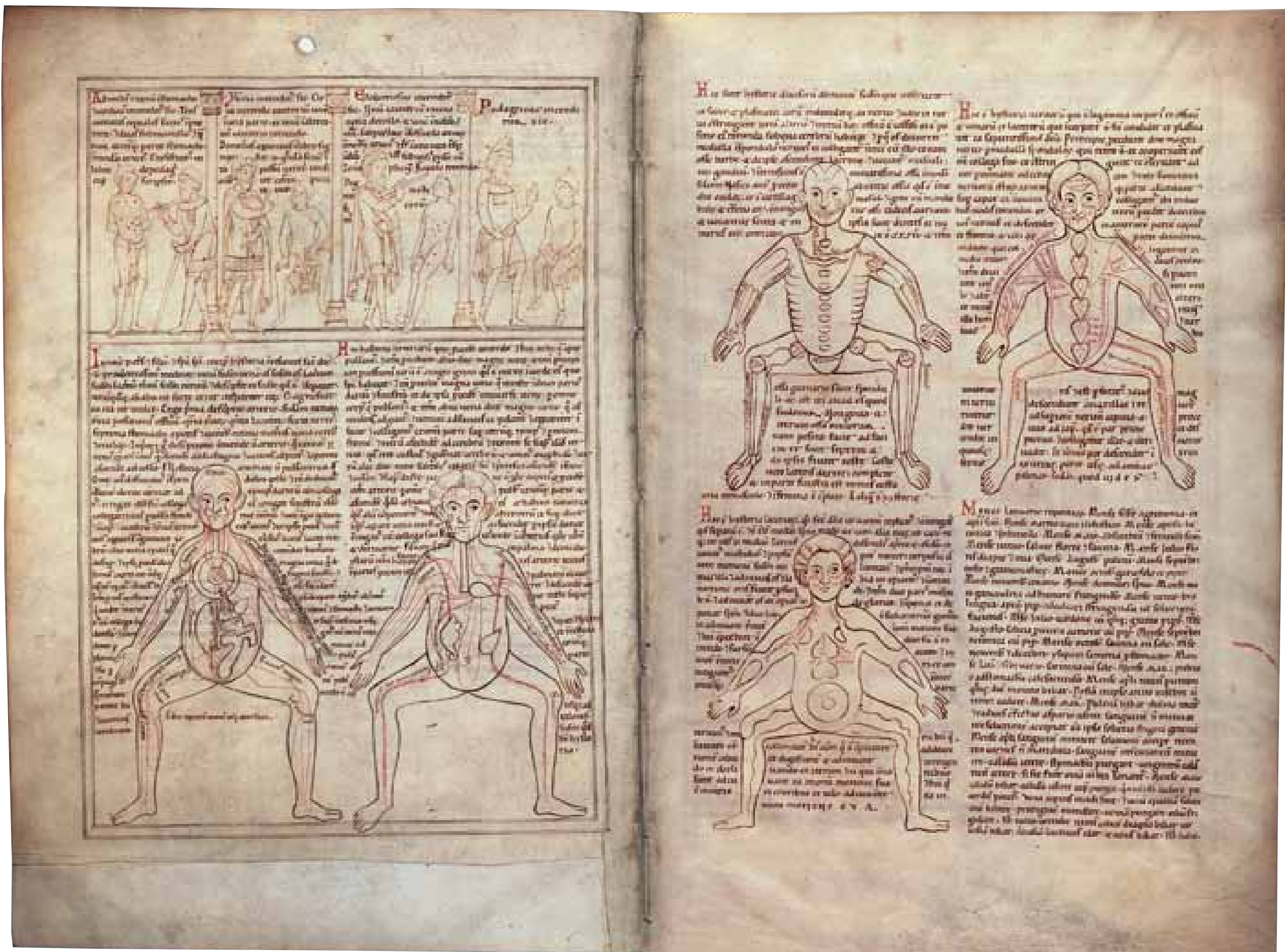
The medical works in the first section offer some of the earliest surviving anatomical diagrams. Directly following a visual treatise on cautery, a series of five male figures arrayed across two pages display five systems of the body: arterial; venous; skeletal; nervous; and muscular (fols. 2v–3r, illustrated). Sometimes called in the scholarly literature the "five-picture series," this type and grouping of figures likely derived from ancient medical texts. The text that introduces them here, a summary of writings attributed to Galen (129–ca. 200 or 216), with Hippocrates (ca. 460–ca. 370 B.C.) one of the most renowned physicians of antiquity, speaks of four more systems: those of the genitalia; the stomach, liver, and viscera; the womb; and the brain and eyes.[4] Later manuscripts sometimes include images of all nine systems, though only the first five are set out as drawings of an entire human figure. The last four appear as isolated anatomical organs.[5]

The so-called artery-man, vein-man, and muscle-man effectively demonstrate the integrative and diffuse nature of the systems in question. They read a bit like subway maps, with lines traversing the body, meeting up and fanning out at significant nodal points. The network of lines on the artery-man attempts to elucidate the relationship between the arteries and the respiratory and digestive organs. Multiple blood vessels move through the balloonlike lungs, represented by the large circle in the chest area with an opening at its center. Some vessels also have direct connections to the five-lobed liver, considered the source of blood and one of the most important organs of the body. Others wend their way through the gallbladder, the teardrop-shaped organ to the right just below the lungs and directly adjacent to the stomach. The vein-man highlights the role of the heart, from which emanate the pulsating veins.[6] The cerebral *rete*, or net, the complex of veins in the head just peeking out from the hair, also receives special emphasis.

While modern viewers might easily identify many specific bones in the skeleton-man shown in the upper left quadrant of the second page, the conventions for representing muscles in the figure below are unlikely to call to mind the elastic bundles of fibrous bands that modern medical illustrators use to conjure muscles. Depicted as if they were large patches covering the body, the muscles in this representation appear as imposing units of tissue governing large areas. What moderns term a muscle group, medievals portrayed as a single element. The patchy overlay we see in the manuscript drawing likely suggested to medieval viewers the way developed muscles impact the visible contours of the body. The nerve-man, found in the upper right, offered perhaps the greatest challenge to the medieval medical illustrator, for nerves were understood as a kind of connective tissue within the body. One has to assume a synecdochical strategy on the part of the original artist who allowed a handful of lines—some zigzag, some feathery, some simple sweeping curves—to stand in for a pervasive network. The brain does not appear in this representation, though Galenic medicine did link it to the nervous system, but the spinal cord, shown as a chain of descending heart-shapes, features prominently.

Each figure is embedded in the portion of the text that discusses the system it illustrates, but text and image prove to operate somewhat independently of each other. Though many of the specific body parts described in the text correspond to those found in the diagrams, the pathways from organ to organ, often ambiguously described, are not always represented. Where, for instance, on the vein-man is the *magna vena,* described in the text as the blood vessel that "divides into left and right veins from which then proceed all the other veins"? The text provides supplemental information regarding both illustrated and unillustrated parts. The vein text elaborates upon the function of the *rete*, shown in the picture as a rectangle on the forehead, which protects and governs the brain. Before that, however, it tells us of the heart's mysterious "black grain," an element not pictured in the drawing, from which all veins originate. The labels that appear on the drawings sometimes serve to identify the parts depicted. At other times the words stand in for a part one might expect to see drawn: the word *maxilla* (jaw muscle) appears on each of the muscle-man's cheeks, for example. Among the inscriptions that provide information not contained in the main text is one in the left leg. The path of veins can be followed along that leg by tracing the feathery line that runs down the middle of the limb or by reading the trail of words alongside that line, describing how the vein travels from hip to knee to heel.

To dismiss (as many have) the anatomy presented in these images as inaccurate, as evidence of medieval ignorance or unwillingness to conduct anatomical investigations through direct observation, is to lose sight of the important and laudable function of these drawings within the Prüfening monastery, where they were copied and kept.[7] They speak to the monks' use of images to show what could not be seen readily, to present what lay under the skin, a place as remote to the medieval viewer as a far-off land. Confining the visual information to a set of similar figures differentiated by the systems shown within their contours, the five drawings convey a sense of the complexities that lie within the body. They provided enough information to give a reasonably satisfactory account of the body's functions. Perhaps more important, these drawings paid tribute to the authority of ancient scholars. The manuscript in which they appear and the collection of books to which it belonged indicate the ambitions of a young monastery that sought, and believed it possible, to gather in its own library the complete spectrum of knowledge as it was then understood. MH



Fols. 2v–3r, Anatomical diagrams

1. McGeachy 1938.
2. Swicher, the seemingly tireless scribe responsible for the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (cat. no. 22), signed this section of the manuscript. On Swicher, see Sears 2006.
3. The text of the treasury inventory can be found in Ineichen-Eder 1969, no. 41.
4. The complete text and all inscriptions for these images are transcribed in Sudhoff 1907.
5. O'Neill 1977.
6. The text here uses the terms veins and arteries somewhat loosely, generally though not consistently defining *venae* as pulsating vessels and *arteriae* as nonpulsating, in opposition to modern medical terminology. Since the ancient and medieval understanding of veins and arteries bears so little resemblance to our own, I have chosen to translate *venae* as "veins," rather than as "arteries," as some scholars do.
7. For exemplary discussions of medieval medical drawings, see Jones 1984 and 2006.

24. *Dialogue Praising the Holy Cross*

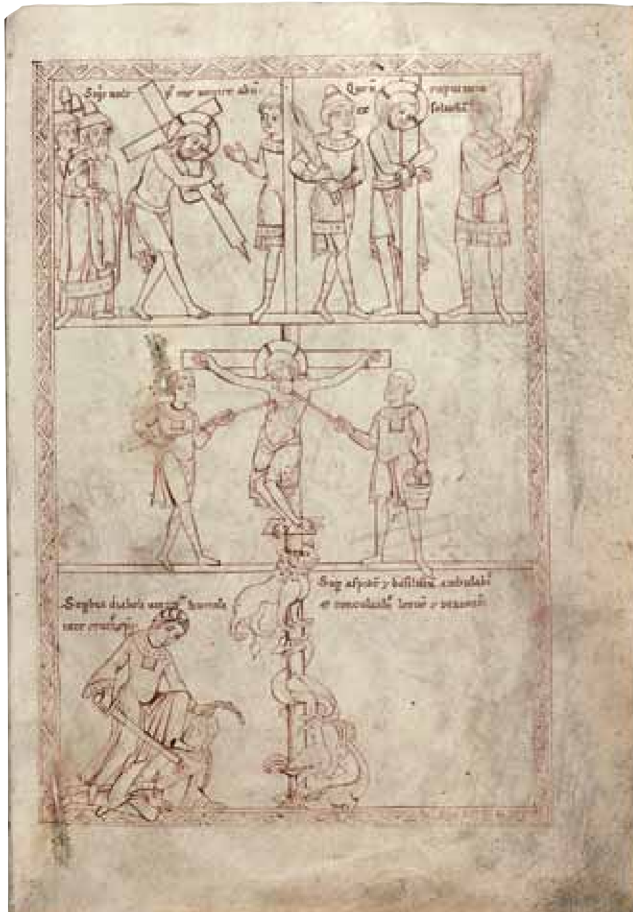
Regensburg-Prüfening, Germany, 1170–80
188 folios, 32 × 23 cm (12⅝ × 9 1/16 in.), 14th–15th century binding
Text: *Homo constat* (from *Speculum virginum*); dedication letter; *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* (Dialogue praising the Holy Cross), in Latin
Decoration: 14 full-page drawings (1 unfinished); half-page drawing
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 14159

Provenance: In 1347, 15th-century, and 1501 catalogues at Saint Emmeram, Regensburg; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1811.

Selected Literature: Boeckler 1924, pp. 33–46; Esmeijer 1978, pp. 62–72, figs. 57a–d; Klemm 1980, no. 35; Regensburg 1987, cat. no. 38; Hartl 2007.

Medieval Christian thinkers understood history as a well-crafted story, with a glimpse of its glorious conclusion to be had in every event leading up to it. God was the story's author, and the events of Christ's life, culminating in his Crucifixion and Resurrection, gave the story its formal coherence and ultimate meaning. The unknown creator of the illustrations and text of this manuscript set as his task a demonstration of these principles. In a remarkably systematic fashion, the *Dialogues* illustrates how events recounted in the Hebrew Bible, called the Old Testament by Christians, foreshadowed the life of Christ described in the New Testament. This ambitious exercise in typology, the interpretation of events and people in the Bible in terms of foreshadowing, occasioned a lively text and an intriguing and unprecedented compendium of pen drawings.

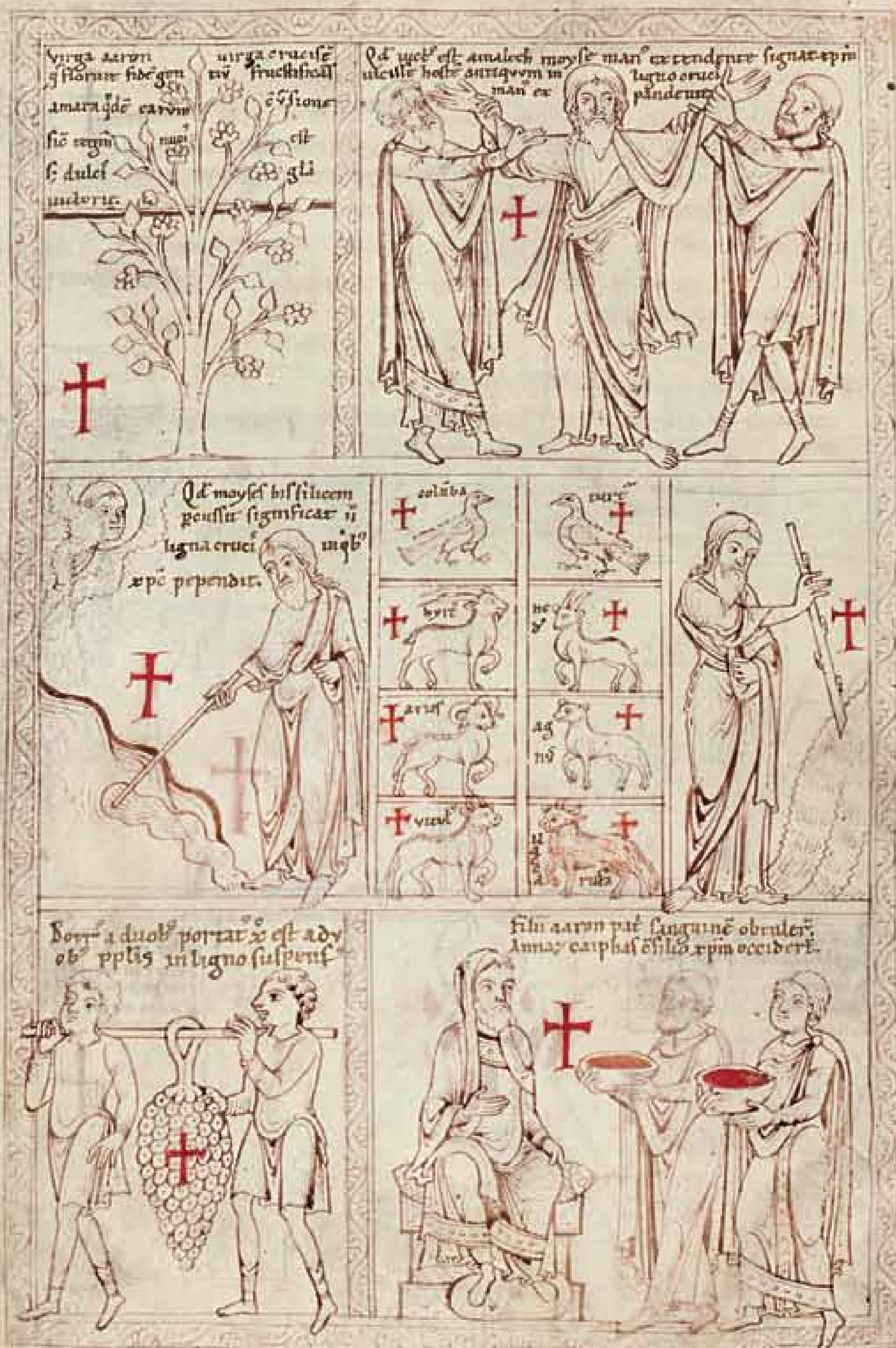
Written in the form of a dialogue between master and student, the text moves chronologically through book after book of the Old Testament, with the teacher spelling out for his curious pupil how each of the earlier events prefigures a later one. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, for instance, suggests God's sacrifice of his son, Jesus. A relentless focus on the cross, as a shape, as a symbol, as a physical object, as an emblem for Christ, as a metaphor for sacrifice, and as an instrument of victory over evil, makes the text and ultimately the images that precede it endlessly fascinating. For example, Moses strikes his wooden staff on a rock twice to bring forth water for the thirsty children



Fol. 5r, Passion and Crucifixion scenes



Fol. 6r, Mystical diagram of the ascent of the soul



Fol. 2v, Scenes from the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers

of Israel in the desert, an act that conjures up the two pieces of wood used to make the cross on which Christ was crucified. In the same vein, just as Moses's staff taps a source of water, so too does the cross tap the source of life, that is, Christ. Throughout the text the cross is the crucial mechanism that triggers associations between the New Testament and the Old.

The first nine full-page drawings in the manuscript all feature the cross as their central motif, providing a visual counterpart to the typological explanations that make up much of the text. More than fifty episodes taken from the Old and New Testaments appear on those pages, beginning with Adam and Eve, proceeding in a roughly chronological order and ending with the Crucifixion (fol. 5r, illustrated). Lest the typological significance of a scene escape the viewer, inscriptions often provide clues to their meanings. It is, however, a tiny red cross, a hovering presence in almost every scene before those depicting the events of Christ's Passion, that makes explicit the point of this biblical narrative. A pointer that recurs again and again, it guides viewers from Adam to Noah to Abraham to Moses, endowing the long history with a reassuring coherence.

Folio 2v (illustrated) shows scenes from the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. As in all the pages in the typological sequence, a series of episodes unfolds from left to right over three horizontal registers. Either a simple divider of two parallel lines or a more elaborate band of scrollwork akin to that on the frame surrounding all the images on the page separates the scenes from one another. Each episode is reduced to the principal participants and the accessories essential to its meaning. The clean, crisp lines associated with Regensburg-Prüfening artists enhance the didactic mission here: free of distracting details, with little modeling or surface decoration, the drawings maintain focus on the intellectual and spiritual exercise they promote.

This page includes scenes both familiar and rare. The tree that is the first image refers to Aaron's staff, the miraculously flowering rod that signaled his family would serve as priests (Numbers 17:7). Next to the tree is a depiction of the story in Exodus in which Aaron and Hur help Moses throughout the long day during which he must keep his arms raised if the Israelites are to succeed in battle (Exodus 17:11–12). The second register includes two incidents in which Moses's staff performed miracles (Numbers 20:11; Exodus 15:24), with a neat stack of the eight animals the Hebrew Bible deemed suitable for sacrifice sandwiched between them. In the bottom row appear the Israelites' scouts bringing back the first fruits of the land they were sent to assess (Number 13:24). Next to it, Aaron's children are shown bringing him the blood of a sacrificed animal (Leviticus 9:9–18). The cross and its meanings emerge in different ways on this page depending on the scene. For instance, a staff in its various guises recalls the cross because it is made of wood and serves an instrument of God's power. The various references to sacrifice bring to mind the cross as the site of Christ's sacrifice. Moses with his outstretched arms and the scouts bearing grapes on a horizontal pole prompt perhaps the most ingenious interpretive leap: they rely exclusively on visual similitude to make their point, as the bold horizontals echo the distinctive horizontal of a cross.

The juxtapositions of the pictures encourage the viewer to relate the episodes not only to the cross but also to one another. The spreading branches of Aaron's staff echo the spreading arms of Moses. In the second register strict chronology cedes to parallelism, with the two miracles performed by Moses's staff elegantly disposed as pendant images. The plump grapes carried by the scouts in the third row evoke the wine suggested by the cups of blood carried to the priest Aaron, in turn an explicit reference to the Communion wine. This network of interrelated events, the fruit of the sort of associative play that engaged medieval minds, further reinforces the notion of the marvelously crafted coherence of the biblical history.

These images, like so many produced in the learned environments of Regensburg-Prüfening, operate with extraordinary sophistication. While the text teaches the method of interpretation, the drawings provide the opportunity to exercise the very skills the text presents. With every episode viewers confront, they must not only recall the relevant historical moment described in the Bible but also consider how the small red cross floating within the scene illuminates the scene's meaning and brings it into close association with the other episodes that surround it. The interpretative scheme proposed by the pictures may parallel the one spelled out in the text, but it can also expand upon it: various prompts exclusively visual in nature direct the viewer toward an evolving set of associations. Not merely a form of decoration, drawings are integral to the process of reading and studying. MH

25. *Philosophy and the Seven Liberal Arts*

Salzburg, Austria, 1150–60
Single leaf, 29.7 × 19.5 cm (11¹¹⁄₁₆ × 7¹¹⁄₁₆ in.)
Decoration: Full-page drawings on recto and verso, no text
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M. 982

Provenance: Professor Ung (Unger or Ungerer); E. Schultze, Vienna; Robert Forrer (1866–1947), Strasbourg; Baron Robert von Hirsch, Basel; sold by von Hirsch to Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1978.

Selected Literature: G. Swarzenski 1908–13, p. 94, pl. CXV, fig. 392; Katzenellenbogen 1961, p. 48, fig. 8; Verdier 1969, pp. 306–9, pls. II–III; Cologne 1985, cat. no. A 11; Pippal 1998, pp. 153, 474, no. 212; Morgan Library website.

Philosophy presides over a celestial gathering of the Liberal Arts in this drawing (recto, illustrated) long separated from the manuscript it originally adorned. It was likely made in one of the Salzburg scriptoria that produced books with drawings of considerable refinement in the middle decades of the twelfth century. Although aspects of its meaning continue to elude modern scholars, the drawing testifies to the learned concerns of medieval monastic audiences in the Salzburg region and to the iconographic innovations that those interests engendered.

With the sun, moon, and stars to either side of her, Philosophy appears here as a heavenly queen, possessing both crown and scepter in addition to two codices. A frilly cloud opens to provide a frame for Philosophy and for the Seven Arts that emanate from her, each presented as a maiden with an attribute. Wavy lines, nourishing rivers that call to mind images of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, flow from the breast of Philosophy to the mouths of her attendants, underscoring her originary force.[1]

Like the Virtues and the Vices brought to life by the poet Prudentius (348–ca. 413) (cat. no. 14), the Liberal Arts developed into memorable personifications in the hands of late antique writers. Martianus Capella, a Roman from Africa who wrote in the early fifth century, produced what would become the most widely used textbook of the Middle Ages: *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*, (The Marriage of Philology and Mercury) a concise introduction to the Roman school curriculum. Its title, hardly alluring to the modern reader, nonetheless hints at the source of the book's long-lasting appeal. A tale of a courtship and marriage among the Olympian gods, the story introduces the Seven Arts as female attendants presented during the nuptial exchange of gifts. As they come forth one by one, Martianus describes their marvelous raiment and details the knowledge they possess. He is forthright about his pedagogical methods, using his enticing descriptions to "explain serious studies, without . . . avoiding entertainment."[2] It was Boethius (ca. 480–ca. 525), philosopher, poet, and the author of several lengthier elaborations on some of the Liberal Arts, who gave vivid expression to the personification of Philosophy, a woman "of imperious authority" whose height would allow her to break through the sky. In Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy,* she famously shoos away the Muses, those "harlots of the stage," calling up her own Muses to bring comfort to the imprisoned author, who was awaiting his execution.[3]

Three of the seven women who represent the Liberal Arts in this drawing leave little doubt as to their identity. Armed Rhetoric and winged Astronomy conform in their basic aspects to Martianus's description, and Music's psaltery is clearly a prosaic version of the otherworldly musical instrument Martianus writes about. But there are several valid though conflicting arguments for the identities of the four other figures, depending on how the attributes they hold are interpreted, which literary sources are consulted, and how the division of the disciplines is understood.[4] The woman shown just under Philosphy's books, for instance, holds a footed bowl and what is generally described as a key. A twelfth-century poem on the Liberal Arts describes Grammar as holding a bowl that emits flames.[5] That same poem, however, gives to Dialectic the attribute of a key. The arcaded structure carried by the woman below Rhetoric at the lower left may represent the tablets inscribed with patterns that Martianus assigns to Dialectic, or, alternatively, an abacus, or reckoning board, which may more properly be associated with Arithmetic. A contemporary illustration of the Liberal Arts in fact shows Rhetoric with tablets, further clouding the argument.[6]

Does the woman beneath Philosophy's scepter hold a disk, a sphere, or a platter? Martianus describes Geometry as holding a celestial globe, perhaps represented by the circle enclosing smaller circles held by that woman; if she is Geometry what would she have in her left hand? Some scholars have interpreted that ambiguously rendered object as the snake often held by Dialectic. A twelfth-century image of Grammar from another Martianus manuscript, now in Florence, shows her with a round tray bearing medicines and additional objects referred to by the author and in the other hand a flail, an implement often attributed to Grammar (though not by Martianus).[7] Might this woman be Grammar? It seems reasonable to identify the objects carried by the woman in a hat on the left side as a square and compass, but are those the practical instruments of a geometer or a mathematician or, as some scholars have suggested, an astronomer?

It is possible to play an endless and frustrating game with this drawing, exchanging one identification for another, eliminating certain possibilities only to find it necessary to reevaluate the entire mix again. The Liberal Arts in medieval representations simply do not lend themselves to easy decoding.[8] Particularly in



Fig. 25.1. Saint Rupert, fol. 1r, from a collection of theological writings, Austria, ca. 1150. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1420



Verso, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music, and a fourth Art giving instruction

the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the iconography of the Arts began to develop, their symbols were fluid, with some attributes migrating from one personification to another. Even within copies of Martianus's textbook, artists often felt no obligation to look to the words for consistency.[9] The present drawing, which may have served as the frontispiece of a text by Martianus or Boethius, or a more general encyclopedic book, provides tantalizingly insufficient clues to the identities of the figures represented.

A drawing on the reverse of this sheet (verso, illustrated) seems to show a related iconography of the female Arts in a dialogue with male practitioners of the same disciplines—such historical figures as Aristotle, Pythagorus, Cicero, and Euclid—but it both assists in and detracts from the interpretation of the Philosophy drawing on the recto.[10] The verso shows images of Astronomy, pointing to the stars, and Music, playing her instrument, likely paired with, respectively, the Greek astronomer Ptolemy and the biblical harpist King David. These correlate in their attributes with figures on the other side. The woman at the upper left of the verso who holds a tablet or abacus clearly finds her parallel on the recto as well, but the man paired with her does not assist in revealing his own or her identity. Scholars have interpreted the maiden who is bafflingly depicted with a satyr on the verso, as Medicine, an eighth discipline sometimes added, along with Architecture as the ninth, to the core group of Seven Arts.[11] Perhaps the mortar and pestle associated with this woman are not references to medicine but allude to Martianus's physician-like Grammar, who makes unguents from plants and goat's hair. Were she Grammar though, one would expect her male companion to be the grammarian Priscian, rather than a satyr; were she Medicine, later representations suggest that either Hippocrates or Galen would be her probable counterpart.

A drawing that serves as the frontispiece for a collection of theological writings, now in Vienna (fig. 25.1), features a



Recto, Philosophy and the Liberal Arts

composition similar to that of the drawing on the recto. It shows a full central figure flanked by half-length figures, all of whom possess the same square jaws and rosy cheeks seen in the present sheet. This unusual frontispiece image depicts Salzburg's first bishop, Saint Rupert (d. 718), with a retinue of his episcopal descendants. The same artist, working at the Salzburg cathedral, likely carried out both the Philosophy and Saint Rupert drawings in the mid-twelfth century.[12] A decade or so later, the scriptorium at Saint Peter's abbey in Salzburg produced a number of exceptionally fine and innovative works very much dependent on a graphic aesthetic. Notable among them were a Saint Peter's Large Bible (Bibliothek Sankt Peter, Salzburg Cod. a XII 18–20) and, in all likelihood, the famous Saint Peter's Antiphonary (fig. 15) that powerfully influenced artists throughout the region.[13] The Philosophy drawing, along with these works, belongs to an extraordinary moment in the history of the Salzburg scriptoria at both the cathedral and Saint Peter's abbey, where experimentation, particularly in the realm of ink drawings, was the norm. MH
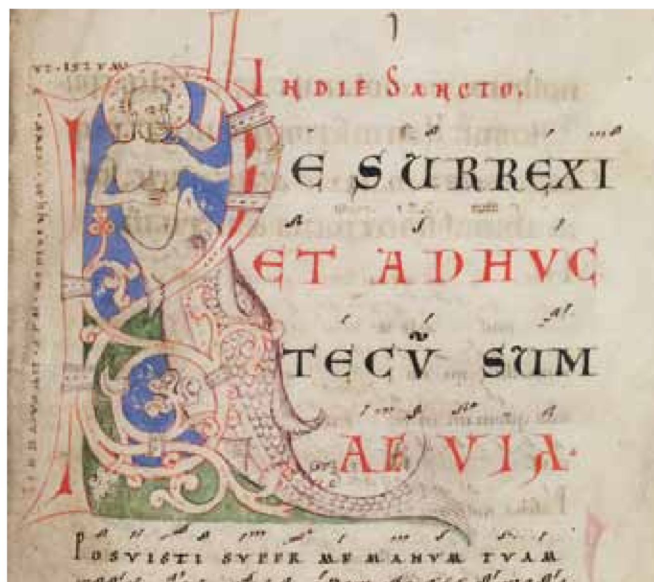
1. A diagram in the now-lost Herrad of Hohenbourg's *Hortus deliciarum* (produced before 1176–ca. 1196) similarly made use of flowing lines from Philosophy's breast to link her to the Liberal Arts. See the facsimile and commentary in Herrad of Hohenbourg, *Hortus deliciarum*, edited by Rosalie Green et al. (Leiden, 1979), no. 33, pl. 18.
2. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 2, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, translated by William H. Stahl et al. (New York, 1977), p. 63.
3. *The Consolation of Philosophy,* translated by P. G. Walsh (Oxford, 1999), pp. 4–5.
4. For a summation of various interpretations, see Pippal 1998, no. 212. See also the identifications proposed on the Morgan Library website.
5. Masi 1972, p. 55.
6. In the *Hortus deliciarum*; see note 1 above.
7. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, MS San Marco 190 (Gurrieri 1979, p. 37, no. 15).
8. See the remarks by Evans 1978.
9. Wirth 1969.
10. Articulated in the poem cited in note 7. See also Evans 1978.
11. Hadot 1984.
12. See Pippal 1998, no. 210.
13. Saint Peter's Large Bible: Pippal 1998, no. 217; Saint Peter's Antiphonary: Unterkircher and Demus 1973–74.

26. *Missal*

Lambach, Austria, third quarter of 12th century
287 folios, 27.6 × 18.6 cm (10⅞ × 7⁵⁄₁₆ in.), 15th-century binding
Text: services for the Mass, in Latin
Decoration: 2 full-page drawings; historiated and ornamental initials
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, W.33

Provenance: Seitenstetten Abbey, cod. 127; in 1928 catalogue of Jacques Rosenthal, bookseller, Munich; Henry Walters (1848–1931), Baltimore; part of the bequest of Henry Walters at his death in 1931 to City of Baltimore, establishing Walters Art Gallery, now Walters Art Museum.
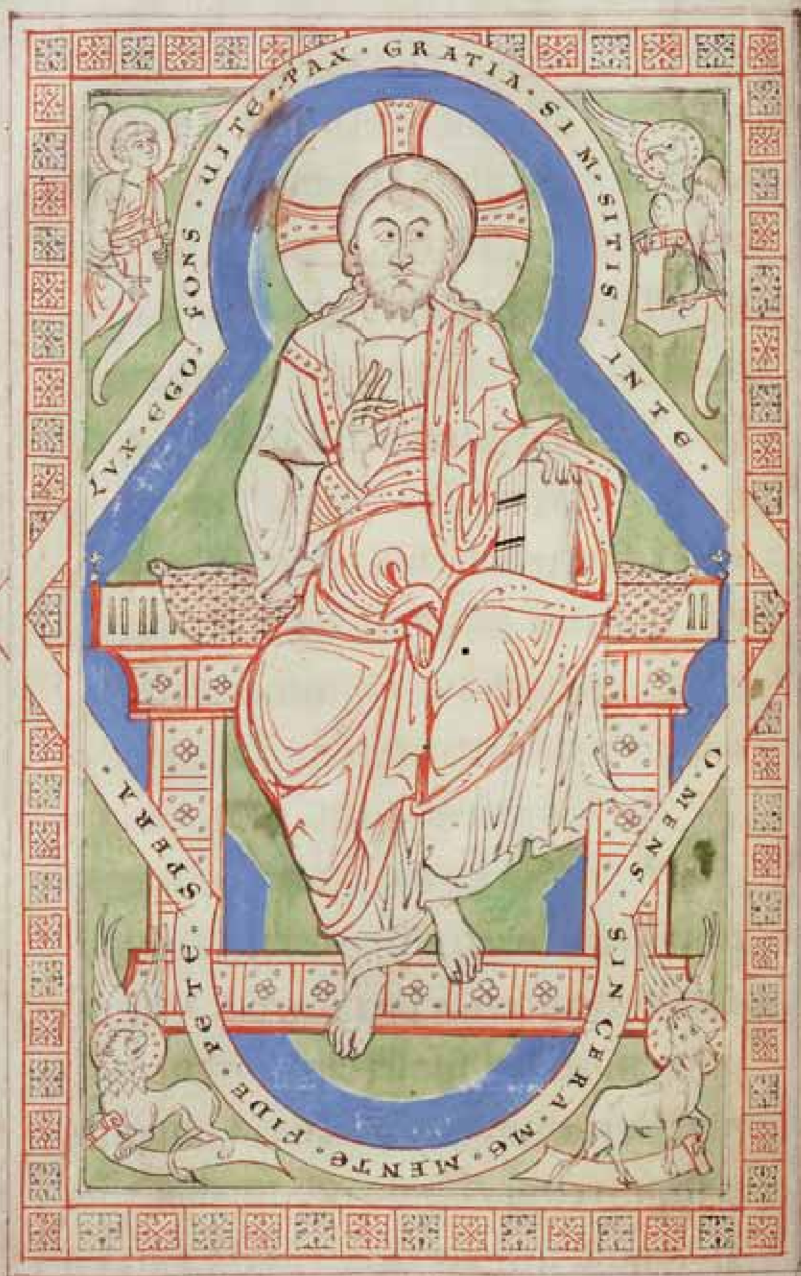
Selected Literature: G. Swarzenski 1908–13, pp. 153, 165, pl. CXXI, figs. 406–407; Rosenthal 1928, pp. 88–90, no. 167, pl. XVII; Baltimore 1949, cat. no. 30, pl. XVIII; Miner 1958, pp. 10–11, fig. 3; New York 1970, cat. no. 282; Holter 1986, pp. 91–92; Holter 1993–94, p. 265.



Fol. 9r, Initial *R*, Jonah and the Whale

Two full-page line drawings and more than a dozen elegantly rendered initials, also drawn, adorn this service book for the performance of the Mass. It bears witness to the existence in the second half of the twelfth century of a widespread preference for drawn decoration in the manuscripts produced by and for the many newly founded monasteries in the region we now call Austria.[1] Beginning in the early decades of the century, line drawings played a part in the artistic repertoire of the scriptoria of Bavaria and Salzburg. From this time the bold linear aesthetic that the Salzburg scriptoria perfected in such works as the great Saint Peter's Antiphonary (fig. 15) exerted a noticeable impact on the dozens of small monasteries that arose in the wake of extensive monastic reforms.[2]

The decoration in this book was probably made by an artist identified as Gottschalk, a monk from the Benedictine monastery at Lambach in the diocese of Passau.[3] Founded in 1056, the



Fol. 1v, Christ in Majesty

monastery, under the abbots Bernhard (ca. 1148–67) and Pabo (ca. 1167–94), supported a flourishing scriptorium.[4] Among its many nameless scribes and artists, Gottschalk stands out not only for being identified by name but also for his sophisticated approach to initials. Working in the general mode of the vine-encircled initials found in the Saint Peter's Antiphonary and, in turn, many of the decorated books from monasteries in the Passau and Salzburg dioceses, Gottschalk exhibited a special talent for historiated initials. In the delicate rendering of Jonah coming out of the whale (fol. 9r, illustrated)—a particularly appropriate subject for the *R* of *resurrexi,* as Jonah's emergence from the whale after three days in its belly was often compared to Christ's resurrection from the dead—the figure thoroughly inhabits the letter. Jonah's hand slides through the crescent of space on the rounded part of the *R,* while, a little farther down, the fish's fin hooks over the top of the letter. The initial includes a number of the telltale motifs associated with Gottschalk's work, including the small dots in the halo, the circular berries on the end of the vine beneath Jonah's elbow, and on one of the spirals, the teardrop-shaped leaf pierced through by the vine.

The image of Christ in Majesty (fol. 1v, illustrated) very much looks to the Salzburg aesthetic for its conception. As in the antiphonary, a backdrop of pale blue and green panels sets off the monochromatic figures, rendered in red and lavender line. The play of line and color calls to mind twelfth-century metalwork from the Limoges and Mosan regions, where fields of blue and green enamel provide a foil for engraved, strongly linear figures in gilt bronze. Other aspects of this image also suggest an aesthetic shared with contemporary metalwork; these are seen in the decorative frame that surrounds the composition, the geometric frame with inscriptions, and the cross-hatching that gives texture to the green background. Gottschalk's figural style is in evidence on this page, particularly in the heavy eyebrows, dimpled chin, and reliance on small dots to decorate drapery and halos. The interweaving of the two frames produces the same sort of spatial play seen in the initial. As most of the decoration associated with Gottschalk is confined to initials and eschews the use of colored backdrops, this work stands as one of the most lavish created by this distinctive artist.

While the manuscript likely originated in the Lambach Abbey scriptorium, its precise travels beyond the scriptorium are less readily evident. The inclusion of Saint Coloman of Stockerau in the liturgical invocation of patron saints has linked the manuscript to one of Lambach's filial institutions, Melk Abbey, which was founded on Coloman's burial site and remains to this day the principal location for his veneration. Before it came to the Walters Art Museum via a Munich-based dealer in the twentieth century, the book belonged to the monastery of Seitenstetten, situated midway between Lambach and Melk.[5] Monastic histories and surviving manuscripts give a not surprising picture of a network of monasteries in the region that exchanged personnel, artistic ideas, and books. The Walters missal would seem to have participated at least once, if not several times, in such exchanges. MH

1. Telesko 1998; Holter 1956a.

2. On the Saint Peter's Antiphonary, see the commentary on the facsimile by Franz Unterkircher in Unterkircher and Demus 1973–74.

3. On Gottschalk, see Holter 1956b; L. Davis 2000; Babcock and Davis 1990.

4. On the Lambach library and scriptorium, see the many publications by Kurt Holter, cited in Holter 1993–94, n. 1, and Babcock 1993.

5. On the Seitenstetten library, see Cerny 1967; for the books the monastery sold from the library between the two world wars, which include this one, see ibid., n. 11.

27. *Exposition on the Song of Songs* and Other Writings by Honorius Augustodunensis

Germany, probably Tegernsee, ca. 1200
i + 103 folios, 33.5 × 22 cm (13 3/16 × 8 11/16 in.), 15th-century binding
Text: *Expositio in cantica canticorum* and *Sigillum sanctae mariae* by Honorius; *Prologus in hexaemeron* by Pseudo-Honorius, in Latin
Decoration: 3 drawings (1 full-page); initials
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 18125

Provenance: In 1483 catalogue at Tegernsee; to Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1803.

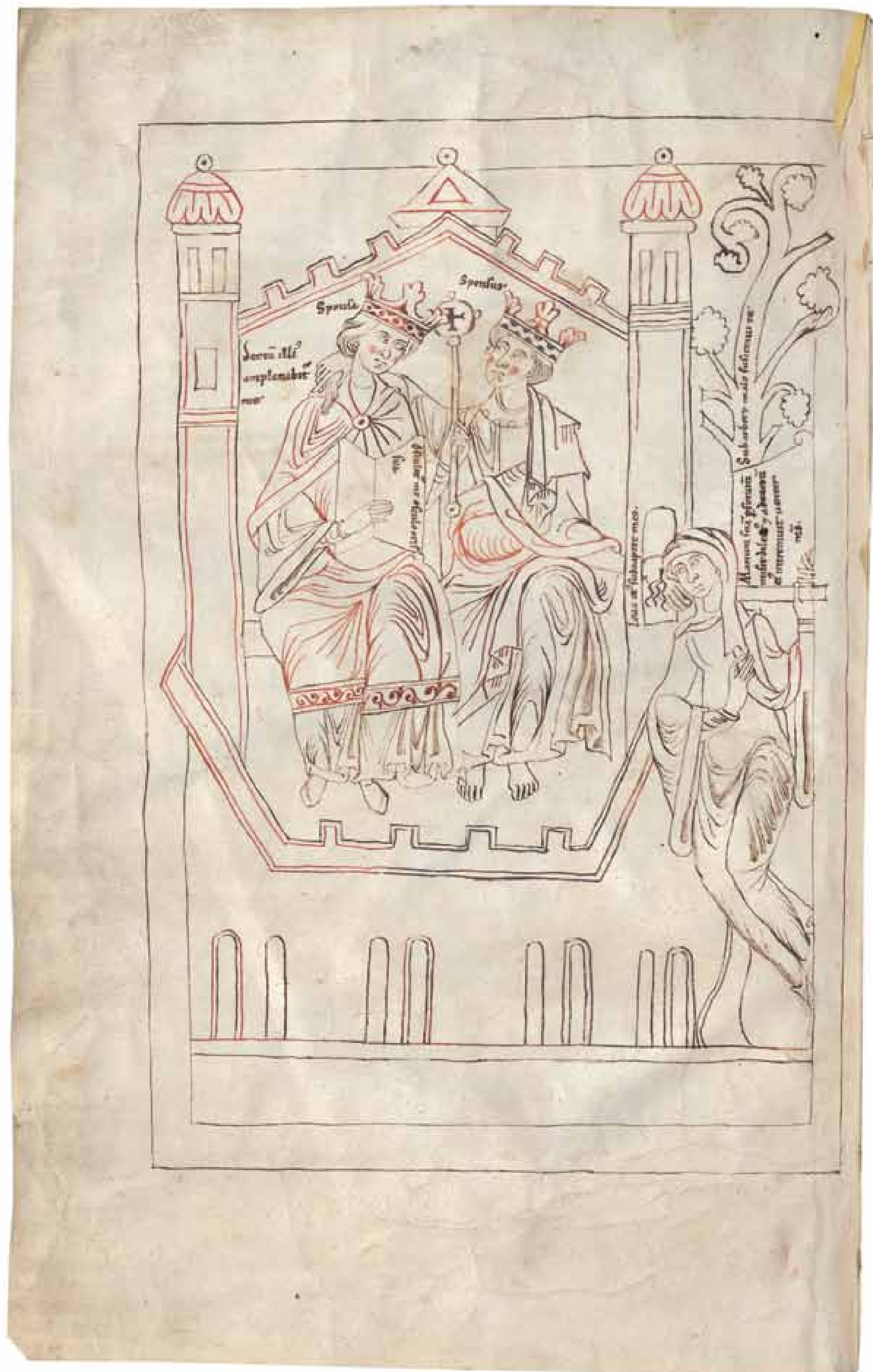
Selected Literature: Klemm 1988, no. 24 (with bibl.); Curschmann 1988, p. 154, no. 21.

The *Song of Songs*, a love poem filled with metaphors and overt in its eroticism, is a fascinating inclusion in both the Hebrew and Christian Bibles. Though Christian exegetes had turned their attention to the *Song of Songs* from as early as the third century, the twelfth century saw a dramatic increase in the number of learned minds producing commentaries on it, an indication of the text's renewed relevance.[1] The prolific Honorius Augustodunensis (active first half of 12th century), who was responsible for such encyclopedic works as the *Imago mundi* (cat. no. 30), contributed two expositions to the rich body of literature on the poem: the *Expositio in cantica canticorum* and the *Sigillum sanctae mariae*. The more influential of the two, the *Expositio,* written in Germany between 1132 and 1137, survives in some one hundred manuscripts, seventeen of them from the twelfth century. A half-dozen of the twelfth-century examples, all produced in southern Germany and Austria, make use of a noteworthy set of drawings as part of the commentary.[2] Unabashedly recondite in their references, they reveal the extent to which drawings could contribute to the highly sophisticated exegesis that the *Song of Songs* inspired.

This particularly fine copy of Honorius's two commentaries from the monastery once in Tegernsee, Germany, opens, like two others from the illustrated group, with a frontispiece showing a touching image of a pair of royal lovers sharing a throne in a turreted building (fol. 1v, illustrated). The man's right arm sweetly wraps around his queen as they gaze at each other. Inscribed in Latin on the book the queen holds is the memorable first line of the poem: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth." Such images of royal lovers began to appear widely in the twelfth century, not only in the various commentaries on the *Song* penned at this time but also in monumental settings.[3] Much of their great appeal derived from the allegorical meanings attached to them. Fundamental to all medieval interpretations of the *Song* is the notion that the love so vividly described in the biblical text refers to God's love. Honorius, like many of his fellow commentators, elaborated on this idea, interpreting the lovers—bridegroom (*sponsus*) and bride (*sponsa*) in the poem—as Christ and his Church. And because medieval allegory cast the Virgin Mary as the personification of the Church, twelfth-century commentators including Honorius embraced the idea that Mary, Christ's mother, could also be understood mystically as Christ's bride and, by extension, the queen of heaven. The image of the loving man and woman, with its sartorial and architectural references to royalty, embraces all of those meanings. As the first picture in the book, it introduces and previews the rich layering of interpretation at the heart of Honorius's remarks.

While the bridegroom wraps his right hand around the bride, he extends his left hand through a window to caress the face of another woman. By no means a reference to the bridegroom's infidelity, this curious visual detail, unique to this group of manuscripts, expands the allegorical significance of the image. A verse from the last chapter of the poem inspired the representation of the bridegroom's divided attention: "His left hand under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me" (8:3). These words appear in the picture, divided into two sections, each part placed directly adjacent to the hand it describes. Elsewhere the text of the *Song* describes the beloved bridegroom as putting his hand through a keyhole (5:4), a line inscribed on the plaque shown next to the second woman's head. Above that text, a verse from another part of the *Song* (8:5) appears along the lines of the tree trunk: "Under the apple tree, I raised you up." The image thus offers its own form of interpretive commentary. Honorius discusses each of these verses at length, but he never juxtaposes them in his text in the way the image does.

Working in the mode of medieval textual exegetes such as Honorius, the unnamed artist (or patron) who devised the program of illustrations for this manuscript combined disparate sections of the biblical text in order to illuminate its many levels of meaning. He also drew from various parts of the Honorius commentary to create an image resplendent with significance. For example, the two women upon whom Christ the bridegroom places his hands represent several layers of significance depending upon a series of dichotomies that would have been familiar to a medieval reader. Thus, the juxtaposed women allude simultaneously to the heavenly Church and the earthly Church, the contemplative life and the active life, the old law and the new dispensation.[4] With reference to the Honorius text, the viewer could also interpret the figure touched through the keyhole as the soul or as the Church.[5] Likewise, the apple tree could suggest the cross on which Christ was crucified, a connotation reinforced by the bloody wound on the bridegroom's left hand. It can also recall the tree of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden.[6] Medieval exegesis, both textual and visual, encourages the piling up of layer after layer of meanings with



Fol. 1v, Sponsa et Sponsus

no single interpretation excluding another. The multiple meanings conjured up by each verse or each segment of an image play off one another, at once presuming and demonstrating the cohesion of the whole. No matter how the parts are sorted, they come together as a profound affirmation of God's love and his divine plan.

The master who created this manuscript, notable for its delicate line and subtle use of color, had perhaps the lightest touch of all the artists who produced the twelfth-century group of Honorius commentaries. Though this book contains only three illustrations, the original cycle likely included four, like the sequence in an earlier manuscript from Benediktbeuren (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4550).[7] Such a pictorial program reinforces the quadripartite interpretive method rigorously pursued by Honorius. Each image is intended to be closely linked to the chapter of the commentary it precedes; thus the four illustrations would elucidate the four different manifestations of the bride that Honorius teases out of the biblical text in elaborate fashion. Indeed, Honorius's commentary perhaps adds another meaning to the Tegernsee frontispiece's profusion of significations. The woman touched through the keyhole might be understood as the first of these four manifestations. The Honorius drawings, in part because they coincide so closely with the composition of the text they accompany, offer a glimpse of the interpretive methods favored in a twelfth-century monastic environment. Certainly, they add beauty to the text and contribute to the physical organization of the book, but they also provide a commentary on the commentary itself, a manifestation of the monastic impulse to use pen and ink to add gloss upon gloss. MH

1. For two relatively recent discussions of the medieval commentary tradition, see Matter 1990 and Astell 1990.
2. Curschmann 1988, p. 154, n. 21, and Klemm 1980, no. 24, provide a list of them all, adding the two fourteenth-century versions from this region.
3. Perhaps the best known is the apse mosaic at Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome. See Kinney 2002 and Kitzinger 1980.
4. Honorius discusses this verse at several points in his commentary: PL 172, cols. 385–88, col. 474.
5. PL 172, col. 436.
6. PL 172, cols. 478–81.
7. The manuscript is dated 1165–75. See Klemm 1980, no. 196, and Stuttgart 1977, cat. no. 740.

28. *Thorney Computus*

Thorney, Cambridgeshire, England, ca. 1102–10
vi + 177 + v folios, 37 × 26.9 cm (14⁹⁄₁₆ × 10⁹⁄₁₆ in.), 17th-century binding
Text: calendar; computus texts by Abbo of Fleury, Byrhtferth of Ramsey, Bede, Helperic, and Dionysius Exiguus; Paschal tables with annals; materials on cosmography, medicine, mathematics, divination, and grammar
Decoration: numerous tables, diagrams, and schemata; 4 zodiac figures in calendar
Saint John's College, Oxford, MS 17

Provenance: Thorney Abbey, until ca. 1422; Humfrey, duke of Gloucester; donated by Humfrey to University of Oxford, 1439 or 1444; remained at Oxford until ca. 1528; Robert Talbot, antiquary, sixteenth century; Antony Anderson, rector of Medbourne, Leicestershire; Hugh Wicksteed, Merchant Tailor of London; donated by Wicksteed to Saint John's College, Oxford, ca. 1600.

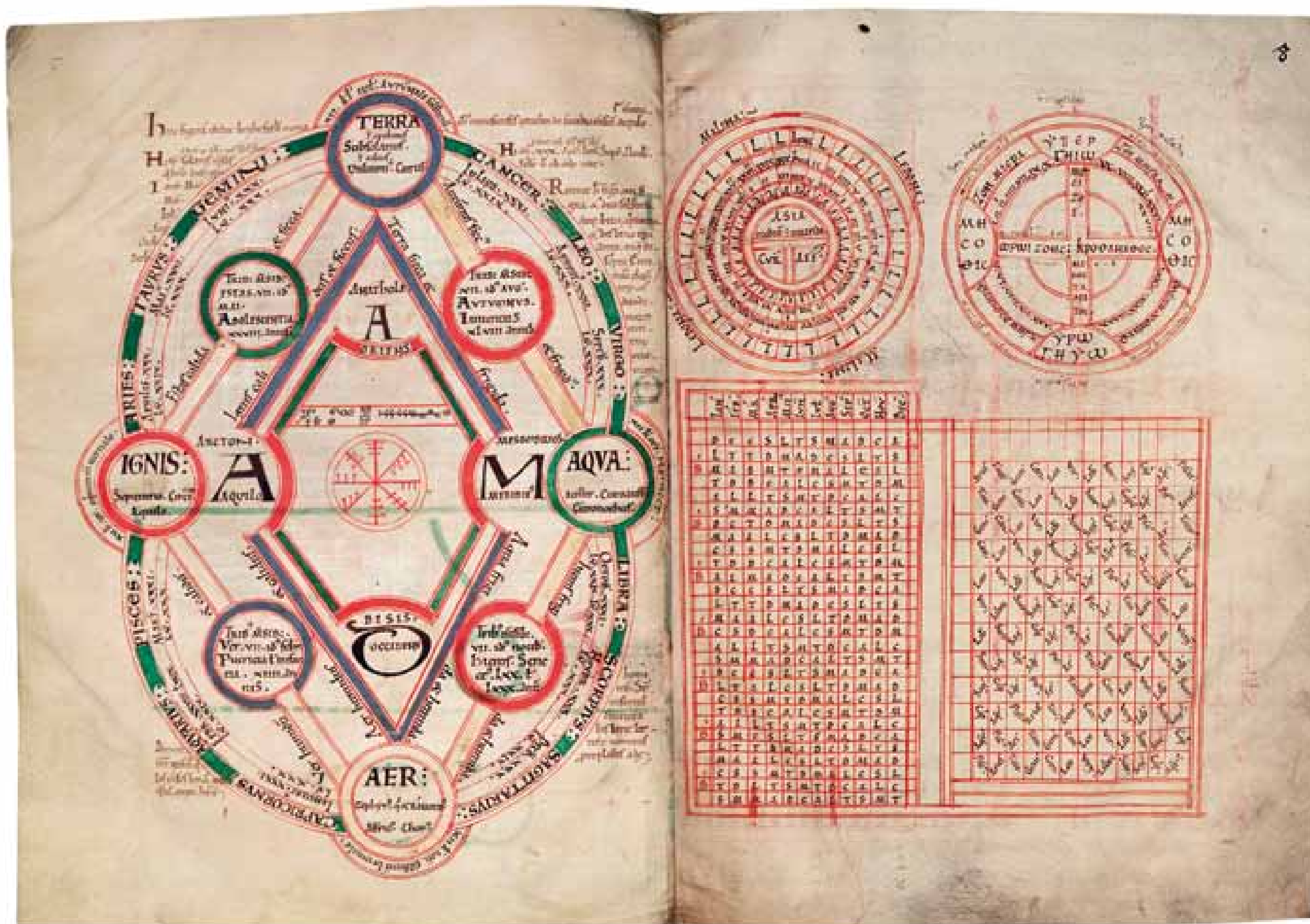
Selected Literature: Kauffmann 1975, no. 9; Euw 1993; Baker and Lapidge 1995, pp. liii–lv; Hanna and Griffiths 2002, pp. 27–34; Hart 2003, vol. 2, pp. 311–45; Kühnel 2003; Manuscripts at Oxford website; Wallis, *The Calendar & the Cloister: Oxford, St. John's College MS 17* (digital facsimile).

This volume is an album of texts and graphic material organized around computus (literally, "computation"), the medieval science of reckoning time and fixing the dates of ecclesiastical feasts, particularly Easter. Though the book contains treatises, it is chiefly valued for its abundance of richly decorated tables, schemata, and diagrams. Its nucleus is a suite of visually innovative calendars and tables designed by Abbo of Fleury (ca. 945–1004), who taught at Ramsey Abbey from 986 to 988. His student Byrhtferth of Ramsey (active ca. 986–1016) based his bilingual Latin–Old English manual of computus, the *Enchiridion,* on an Abbonian computus album of which the Thorney Computus is, in part, a copy. This manuscript also contains extensive material on topics related in some way to time, such as cosmology, mathematics, and medicine. In consequence, the scope of its graphic material is widened beyond the subjects immediately relevant to computus to include maps, cosmological images, abacus tables, and prognostication devices.

Computus was an important subject of clerical and monastic study, particularly before the advent of Scholasticism. It had some obvious practical uses, but its most enduring and



Fol. 7v, Byrthferth's diagram



Fols. 7v–8r, Byrhtferth's diagram; 4 computus diagrams

significant value was cultural and symbolic. In terms of culture, computus offered Christians an intellectual framework within which ancient scientific knowledge could be preserved and appreciated. Indeed, in the Carolingian period, the computus manuscript's elastic album format allowed it to expand into a veritable encyclopedia of astronomy and cosmology. But computus was also a magnet for religious reflection. The Christian calendar, and especially the cycles devised for the perpetual determination of Easter, evoked patterns that gave a sacred shape to the chaotic experience of time and hinted at its consummation in eternity.

These themes are encapsulated in the pages of the Thorney Computus, which is displayed here. Byrhtferth's diagram (fol. 7v, illustrated) is a visual meditation on the cosmic and religious resonances of computus. Its subject is the harmony (*concordia*) of the twelve months and the four elements—in other words, time and the material world. The visual form, however, is borrowed from the *maiestas Domini*, the iconographic formula for representing Christ in glory at the end of time. Byrhtferth's diagram layers astronomical and calendar time with the elements (earth, air, fire, water), their primal qualities (hot, cold, moist, dry), the seasons, and the ages of human life. Human nature is also linked to macrocosmic space through the name of Adam, formed from the initial letters of the Greek names of the cardinal directions: Anatole (east), Disis (west), Arcton (north), and Mesembrios (west). Folio 8r (illustrated), which faces this diagram, is a page executed in the typical encyclopedic album style of computus compilation. At the top left is a *rota* illustrating the relationship between the lunar month and the cycle of spring and neap tides. At the top right is a divination diagram, labeled in Greek. The numerical value of the letters in the inquirer's name is divided by twenty-nine (or thirty), and the remainder is then located on the inner ring of the wheel; numbers on the upper half of the wheel represent positive outcomes of the problem presented, and those on the lower half, negative outcomes. The rectangular table (*pagina*) at the lower left is used for finding the day of the week on which the first day of any month falls throughout a twenty-eight-year cycle. At the lower right is a table (incomplete) for determining the moon's position in the zodiac on any day of the month throughout the nineteen-year lunar cycle.

FW

29. Paraphrase of *De natura rerum* by Bede and Other Scientific Writings

England, ca. 1190–1200
9 folios, 27 × 15.9 cm (10⅝ × 6¼ in.), ca. 1900 binding
Text: excerpts and paraphrases of a number of early medieval scientific texts, especially *De natura rerum* by Bede, *De natura rerum* by Isidore of Seville, and several shorter texts by Abbo of Fleury
Decoration: 20 diagrams
Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.73

Provenance: Gruel and Englemann, Paris; acquired from Gruel by Henry Walters, June 9, 1903; part of bequest of Henry Walters to City of Baltimore, establishing Walters Art Gallery, now Walters Art Museum, 1931.

Selected Literature: Bober 1956; Kauffmann 1975, p. 57; Caviness 1983; Murdoch 1984; Kühnel 2005; Feltman 2007.

This is a small pamphlet containing excerpts from several medieval scientific treatises. It is not simply a miscellany of loosely related material but a thoughtfully selected and carefully constructed compendium of texts concerning the natural sciences. Although this particular combination of texts and pictures is unique, a number of similar books are known; these were made on the Continent throughout the medieval period and in England from at least the eleventh century. Most of the texts in the present manuscript were excerpted or adapted from the works of Isidore, bishop of Seville (ca. 560–636), the English monk Bede (ca. 672–735), and the monk and abbot Abbo of Fleury (ca. 945–1004). Isidore and Bede were highly influential throughout the medieval period, and Abbo was closely tied to monastic reform movements in both France and England.

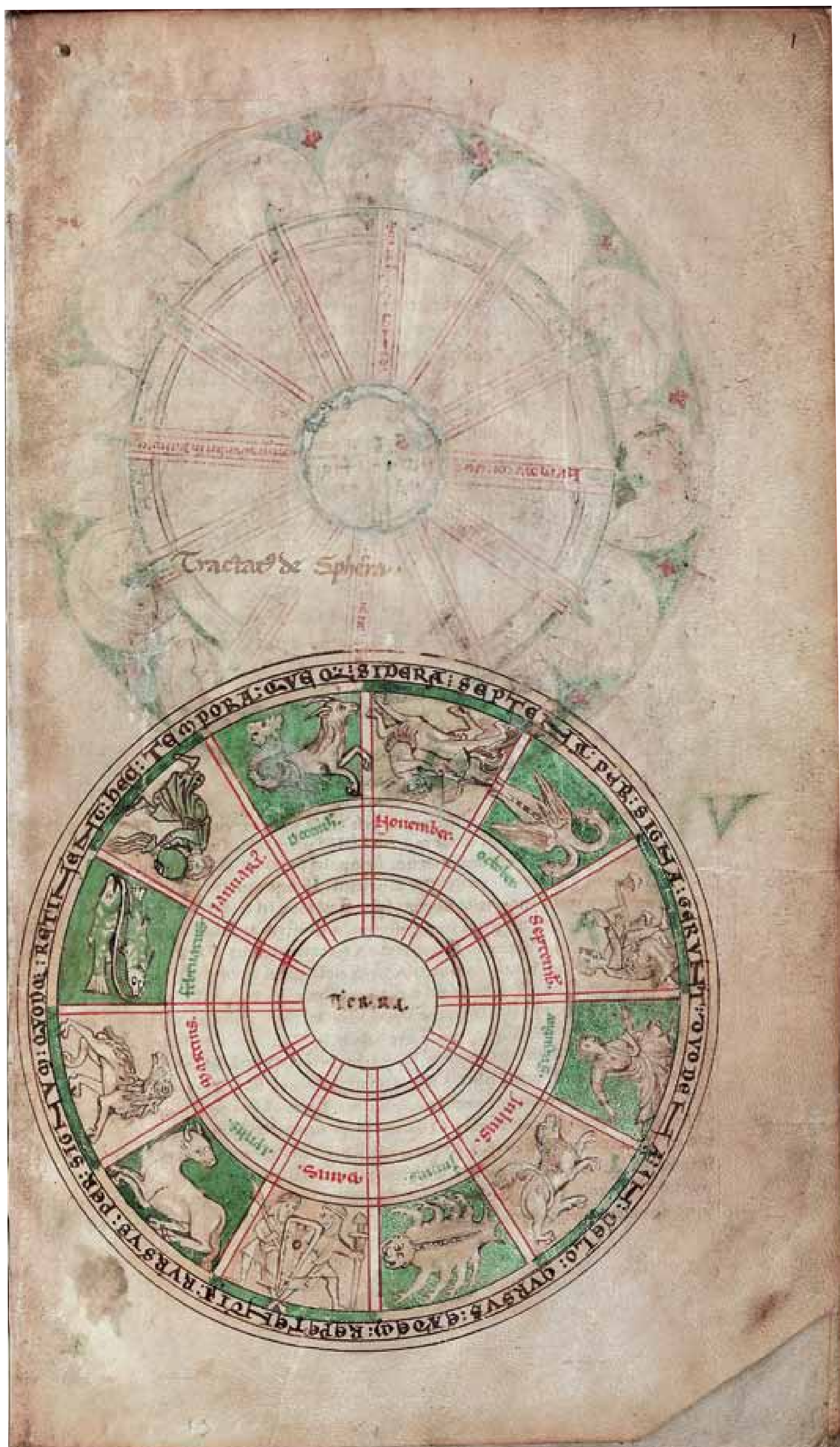
In the medieval period there was no strict separation between the religious and scientific spheres. In fact, for many medieval monks an understanding of the natural world was considered essential to a proper appreciation of God's intentions. Like the texts they illustrate, medieval scientific diagrams clearly owe a debt to ancient Greek and Roman scientific works. While many scholars have attempted to confirm and trace the classical origins of medieval diagrams, scientific works of the Middle Ages are perhaps better understood as adaptations of earlier knowledge and ideas to a Christian worldview.

The purpose of this small booklet has been debated, but it was likely used as a teaching aid, a textbook of sorts for monks, and some of its contents might have been used to calculate the date of Easter, the most important feast in the liturgical calendar. Accompanying the texts are twenty diagrams, or *schemata*, drawn in green, red, pale yellow, and blue ink and paint. Most of the diagrams are not figural, and only the first two, representing the zodiac and the winds (fol. 1v, illustrated), include depictions of animals or humans. Many of these *schemata* are circular dia-



Fol. 1v, The Winds

grams (*rotae*). This wheel-like form was used by Isidore of Seville in his influential *De natura rerum* (On the Nature of Things) and thereafter remained popular in medieval scientific illustration. Circular diagrams were well suited to the presentation of cosmological ideas because the perfect form of the circle conveyed a sense of order and harmony and alluded to the cyclical nature of creation.[1] Many of the *rotae* in medieval scientific works contain cruciform elements, sometimes appearing as an inscribed cross within or above a diagram, and sometimes implied in the overlapping lines of the segments of a given *rota* or in the negative spaces between these segments.[2] In the present



Fol. 1r, Zodiacal diagram

manuscript, the information put forward in the diagrams is closely related to the texts they accompany. The subject matter of the diagrams includes the movement of constellations, the planets, the sun and the moon, information about geography, climate, tides, the winds, and the cycle of the seasons. Several diagrams display theories of the relationships between the world, the year, and human beings (fols. 7v, 8r).

The drawings are more than mere illustrations of the words in the text. The *rota* format allowed for the presentation of a number of complex connections in a concise manner. For example, in circular diagrams concerned with theological concepts such as the relationship of man to the world of creation and the cosmos (fols. 7v, 8r), the diagrams show a series of oppositions, juxtapositions, and overlapping ideas in a single visual unit. Such diagrams allow the viewer to look at and think about several concepts at once, and they were intended to direct the medieval student toward particular interpretations of the material.

Each diagram in the book has a clear relationship to the text it accompanies except for the first, on the opening page (fol. 1r, illustrated), which represents the zodiac. This zodiacal drawing is set apart from the others by its placement on a blank page, and by a greater degree of artistic attention. All of the diagrams in this manuscript are carefully executed, but this is the only one that includes fully colored figural drawings. It serves as a frontispiece to the entire text and may also have been intended as a summary or overview of the ideas presented throughout the pamphlet.[3] The earth, labeled *terra,* is shown at the center of the circle, surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac, which was understood in the Middle Ages as referring to the stars in the heavens and also to the measurement of time and the cyclical nature of Creation. The subject of the inscription around the rim of the circle is the relationship between the planets, the constellations of the zodiac, and the passage of time.

Medieval scientific diagrams are not usually given much consideration in the history of art. They are often found in utilitarian rather than deluxe manuscripts, and they usually do not include figures. The frontispiece of this manuscript, however, demonstrates that even utilitarian diagrams can have great visual appeal. Moreover, it has been shown that throughout the medieval period the organizational structures of such diagrams were often used in pictorial compositions.[4] Just as the study of natural science was considered complementary to theological studies, scientific illustration should be thought of not as an isolated subject, but as an important branch of medieval illumination.

KG

1. Caviness 1983.
2. Kühnel 2005.
3. Bober 1956.
4. Caviness 1983.

30. The Sawley Map from the *Imago mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis

England, probably Durham, ca. 1190
i + 57 + i folios, 31.5 × 22.5 cm (12⅜ × 8⅞ in.), 1954 binding
Text: numerous geographical, historical, and theological texts, including *Imago mundi*, a history of the origins of the English people from Adam to King Henry II (1154–1189); a treatise on the wings of angels attributed to Clement of Lanthony; a description of the Holy Land, in Latin
Decoration: 5 drawings, 3 full-page, including world map
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 66, Part 1

Provenance: Perhaps Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham (1153–1195); Sawley Abbey, Yorkshire; Matthew Parker (1504–1575); his bequest to Corpus Christi College, 1575.

Selected Literature: Kauffmann 1975, no. 102; LeCoq 1990; Edson 1997, pp. 105–7, 111–17, 161; Harvey 1997; Cambridge 2005, cat. no. 145; Barber 2006, pp. 10–13.

This delicately drawn map, called the Sawley Map, appears on folio 1v, at the beginning of an *Imago mundi* (Picture of the World), an encyclopedic digest written by Honorius Augustodunensis (active first half of 12th century). Like Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* (On the Nature of Things), the *Imago mundi* ambitiously seeks to present a comprehensive view of time and space, offering a description of the universe, a reckoning of time, and a history of the world from before Creation to the moment the text was written. That it would begin with a map of the world would seem logical, but in fact few of the two hundred or so surviving medieval copies of the *Imago mundi* include one. Among the small number that do, the Corpus Christi codex is unique in providing more than a schematic rendering. The earth pictured here teems with points of interest, natural and built, historical and contemporary. Green outlines



Roma
Sicilia
Macedonia
Tracia
Noricus

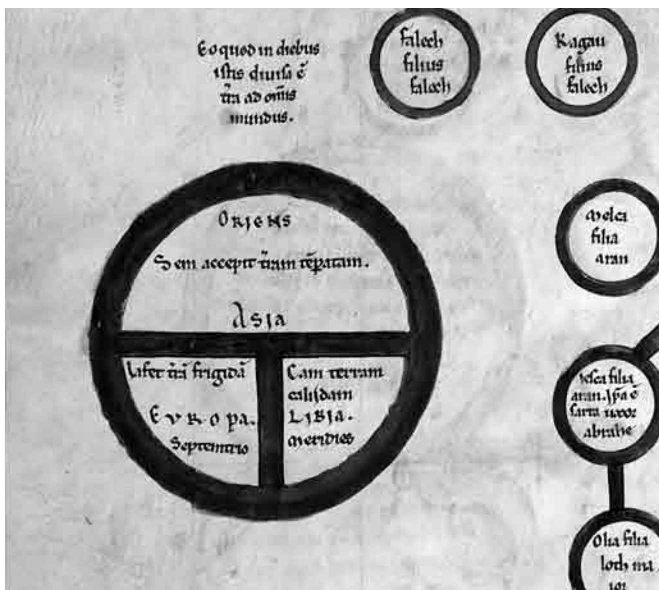


Fig. 30.1. T-O map from a Beatus Manuscript, Burgos, ca. 1180. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, The Cloisters Collection, Rogers and Harris Brisbane Dick Funds, and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1991 (1991.232.2b)

enhance the sinuous curves of rivers, seas, and oceans; red enlivens the swelling shapes of mountains and mountain ranges. Miniature gates, buildings, and walls mark significant ports, cities, and other sites of interest.[1] A quartet of golden haloed angels, with beckoning hands and dancing feet, float outside the oval that encloses the map.

The Sawley map, like its well-known relations—the later Hereford, Ebstorf, and Psalter maps—organizes the world in terms of centrality and remoteness. In the middle of the world sits the Mediterranean, the angular body of water outlined in green that roughly divides the earth into three continents, in an arrangement vaguely reminiscent of the tripartite, or T-O, maps often featured in medieval learned texts (fig. 30.1). Asia, the land above the sea in the upper half of the oval, lies in the east. (Like many medieval maps, this one is oriented with east [*oriens*] at the top.) Africa, the southern continent, extends along the right side, while Europe to the northwest is nestled in the crook of the sea at the lower left corner. All around the shores of the Mediterranean appear the markers of civilization. A domed structure flanked by towers just southeast of center indicates Jerusalem. In its vicinity appear pictographic references to key biblical sites: the notorious tower of Babel; the capacious storehouses of Joseph, which he opened to feed famine-plagued Egypt; the walls of Jericho; the stable of Bethlehem. Just across the Mediterranean in Europe stands the turreted portal of Rome, and below it is a posts-and-crossbar structure marking the burgeoning port city of Pisa. Other port cities, including Carthage, appear at regular intervals along the Mediterranean coast of Africa, a nod to that continent's long-standing role in maritime commerce.

The edges of the world connote extremes in space, time, physical forms, and sensibilities. Though Scylla and Charybdis, the sea monsters of Greek myth, inhabit the Mediterranean, the majority of the monsters and fantastic creatures are scattered along the periphery of the map: the biblical monsters Gog and Magog, the dog-headed cynocephalites, the trogolodytes, griffins, and basilisks. Ethiopia, legendary for its black-skinned inhabitants, sits at the southern extreme of the map. Most of Europe too pushes toward the extremities, fanning out from Italy, Cologne, Paris, and the Galician region of Spain (indicated by the pilgrimage church of Santiago de Compostella) to stand close to the outer rim of Ocean. And the Island of Britain (*Britannia insula*) and Ireland (*Hibernia*) lie as far to the northwest as the desert monastery of Saint Anthony lies to the southeast. Paradise, where the earth began and will end, occupies the easternmost point, an island at the top of the map.

In one sense, the map gives visual form to Augustine of Hippo's remark that "the circle of the earth is our great book."[2] A map that encompasses all the peoples and lands of the earth, that allows us to see the world as angels do, ultimately attests to God's hand in the creation of everything. It also performs an encyclopedic function, bringing together and organizing in a visual compendium a wealth of accumulated geographical knowledge from the Bible, Greek legends, Alexandrian adventure tales, and ancient cosmographies. Comprehensive maps of the world of this sort, known as *mappaemundi,* resonated with medieval English audiences—audiences who perhaps appreciated the ways they made a virtue of remoteness and isolation with their reassuring inclusion of the island of Britain, described by the famed encylopedist Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) as "cut off from all the rest of the world."[3]

The Sawley map survives on a single sheet attached to the first gathering of pages in the manuscript. Thus, it may or may not have been made at the same time the accompanying text was copied: we can assume, however, that they had come together no later than the early thirteenth century, when, as an inscription on the map tells us, the volume and its map were housed at the Sawley Abbey in Yorkshire. Both the style of the several images in the manuscript and the selection of texts link the manuscript to Durham. Furthermore, we know that Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, presented a *mappamundi* to the monks at Durham at his death. The Corpus Christi manuscript could be the very text sent to Sawley Abbey at that time or might at least have been copied from it.[4] MH

1. For the identification of all the sites on the map, see LeCoq 1990.
2. Epistles, CSEL XXXIV: 2, 107.
3. *Etymologies,* XIV.vi.2. On maps and cultural identity in medieval England, see Mittman 2006, pp. 1–60.
4. For the various arguments regarding the map's date and localization, see Harvey 1997.

31. *The Compendium of History through the Genealogy of Christ* by Peter of Poitiers

England, 13th century
7 joined folios, 320 × 27.9 cm (126 × 11 in.)
Text: *Compendium historiae in geneaologia Christi*, in Latin
Decoration: figure illustrations and diagrams
Anonymous Lender

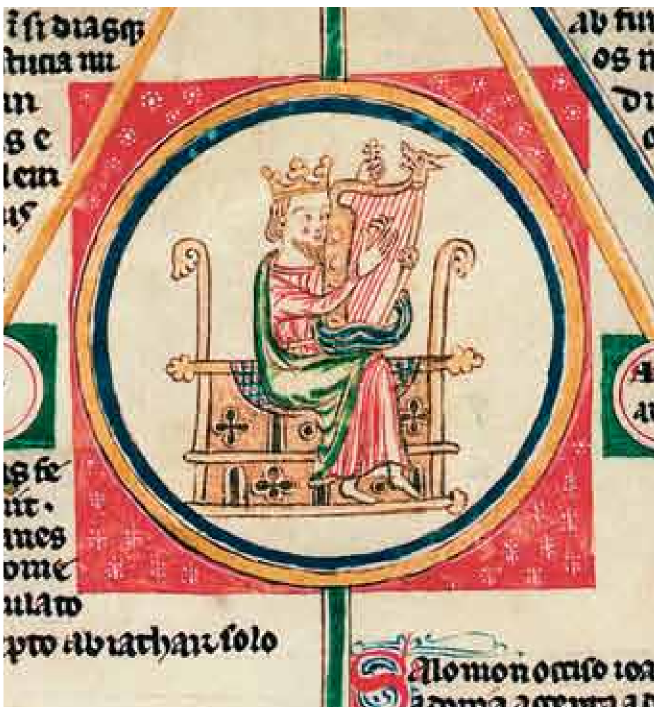
PROVENANCE: Sir Sidney Cockerell; purchased from Quaritch by anonymous collector, 1959.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Faye and Bond 1962, no. 11; Monroe 1989, p. 172; Panayatova 2001, n. 8.

Admirable for its concision and graphic boldness, this imposing scroll presents a history of the known world from the creation of Adam until the resurrection of Christ. It is a teaching tool, a graphic summary of a classroom text, *The Compendium of History through the Genealogy of Christ,* written by Peter of Poitiers (ca. 1130–1215), who was a teacher of theology and chancellor at the Cathedral School of Notre Dame in Paris in the late twelfth century.[1] The scroll relies upon the juxtaposition of colorful geometric forms, delicate figural drawings, and strategically selected passages from Peter's text to clarify and synchronize the often confusing histories, genealogies, and lists presented in the Christian Bible.

The ancestry of Christ, traced back to the first man, is shown through a stemma, a system of lines and framed circles that runs down the center of the scroll's length and provides the armature for the diagram. According to an understanding of history articulated by no less a figure than Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Christ's lineage and thus all of world history neatly divides into six ages.[2] The diagram makes use of Augustine's organizational scheme by placing six framed medallions at regular intervals along the central axis. Each medallion contains a figure, one of Christ's ancestors who announces the beginning of each age. Though this scroll no longer includes an image of Adam and Eve, the traditional heralds of the first age, it still retains depictions of the last five ages with charmingly drawn pictures of Noah, Abraham, David (illustrated), and Zedekiah from the Old Testament and the Virgin nursing the infant Christ (illustrated) from the New. Less elaborate stemmata, representing successions of Old Testament patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and priests, as well as the lineage of ancient rulers of Syria, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, diverge from, converge with, and run parallel to that central history.

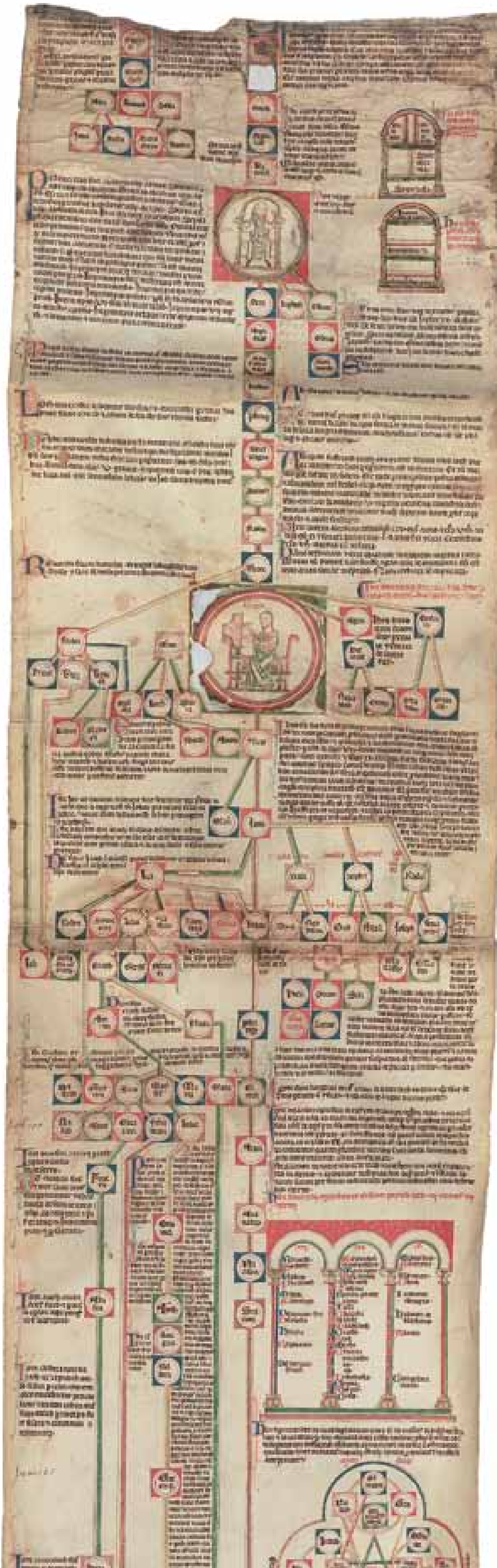
Not limited to a strictly linear presentation of content, the scroll also includes a pictorial excursus on a biblical problem dear to medieval exegetes: the structure and capacity of Noah's ark (illustrated), here explained by showing a cross section of the boat close to the picture of Noah near the top of the scroll. Other sorts of biblical or Bible-related information are also treated in diagrams: among these subjects are the forty-two resting places of the Israelites as they wandered in the wilderness,



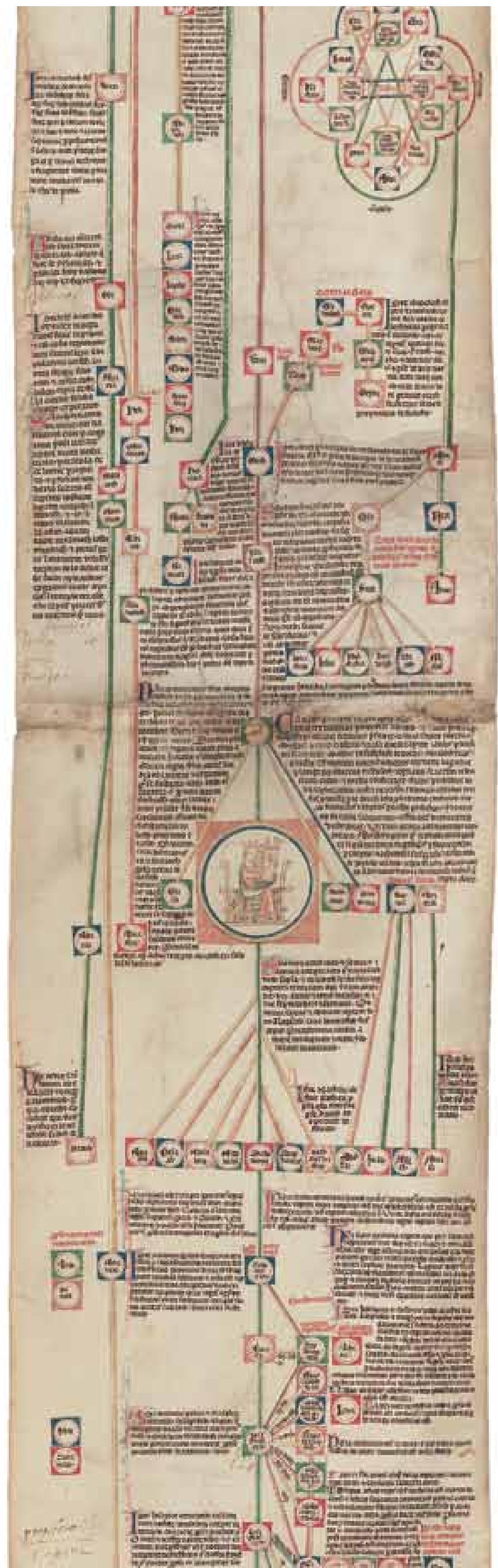
Detail, King David



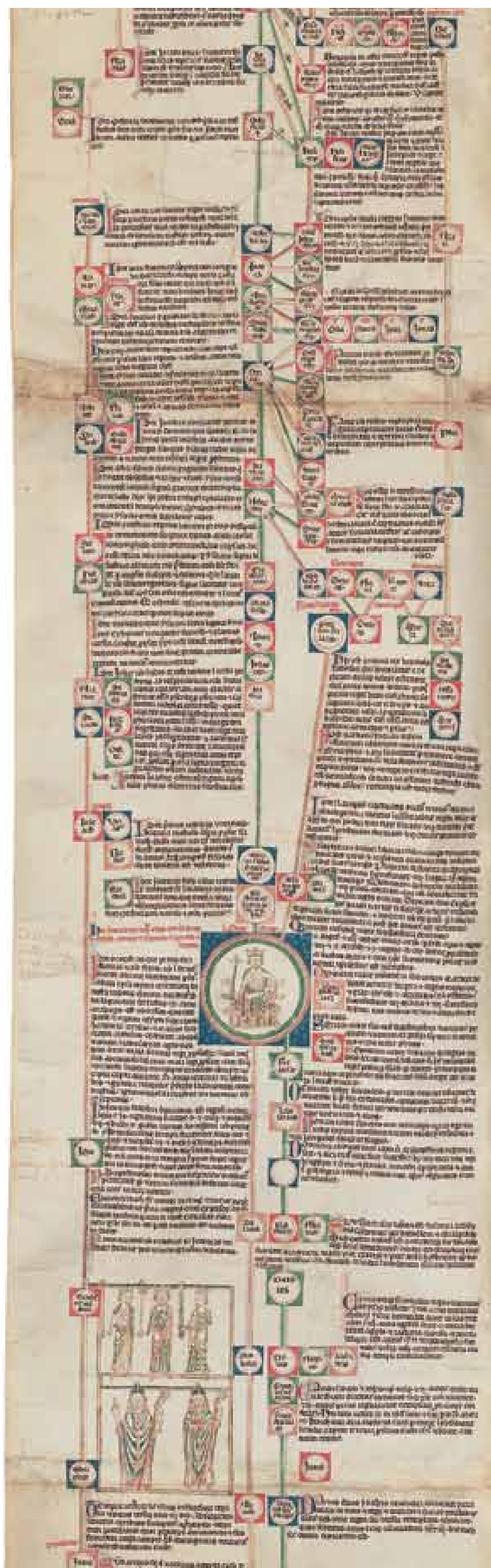
Detail, Virgin and Child



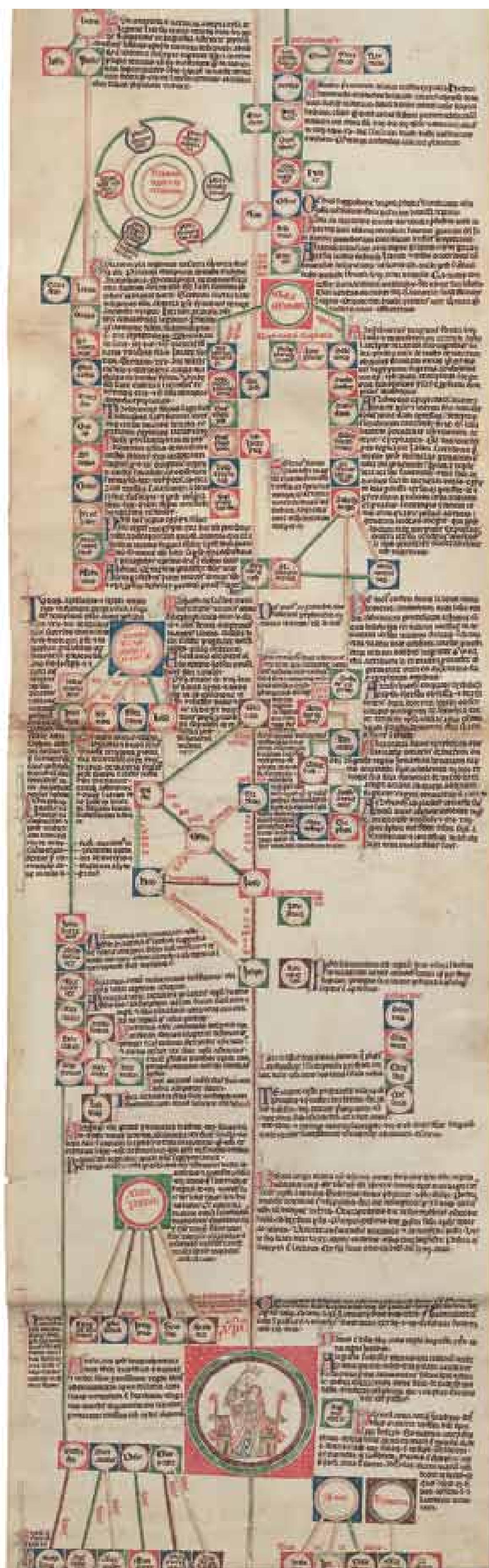
Top section of scroll



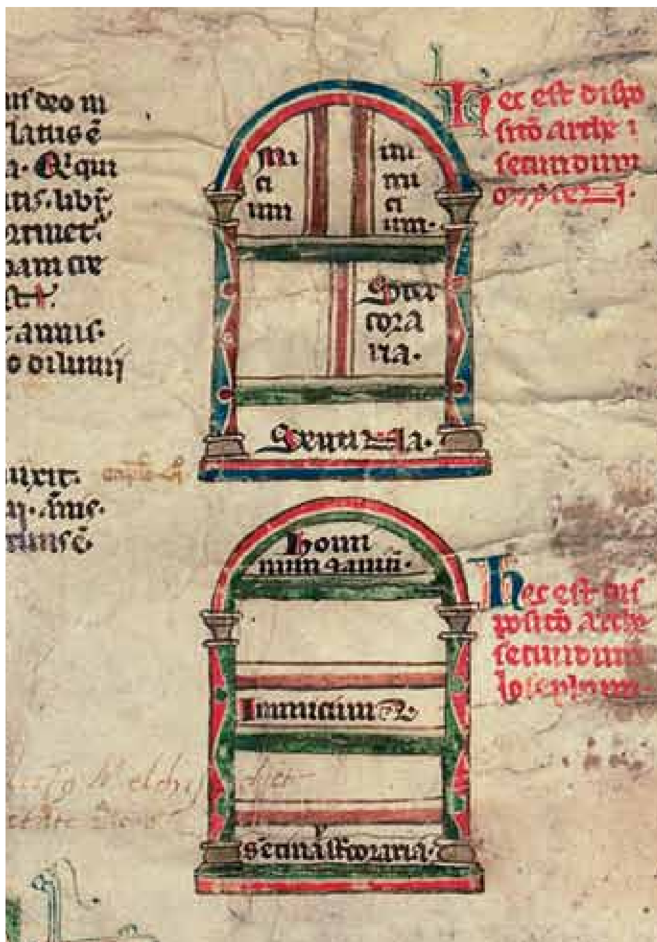
Second section of scroll



Third section of scroll



Bottom section of scroll



Detail, diagram of Noah's ark

perhaps the Twelve Tribes of Israel (detail, illustrated), and the social hierarchy of Jerusalem, shown, respectively, as a colonnaded building, a quatrilobe chart, and a set of concentric circles. So pervasive in the medieval visual repertory was each of these diagrammatic formats that a thirteenth-century viewer of the scroll would have been equipped with the interpretive skills required to decipher its contents. Although the scroll's various pictorial structures may appear unwieldy to the modern eye, they in fact derive from long-standing medieval conventions for the visual organization of information.[3] Indeed, the very notion of explaining world history in terms of a genealogy made perfect sense to the medieval viewers and readers of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium,* as the language of ancestral lineage and kinship ties supplied many of the most frequently employed metaphors of the medieval period, metaphors that were commonly applied to complex ideas about language, history, and theology.[4] Like any good teacher, Peter and the artists who interpreted his text made use of the familiar to explain the unfamiliar.

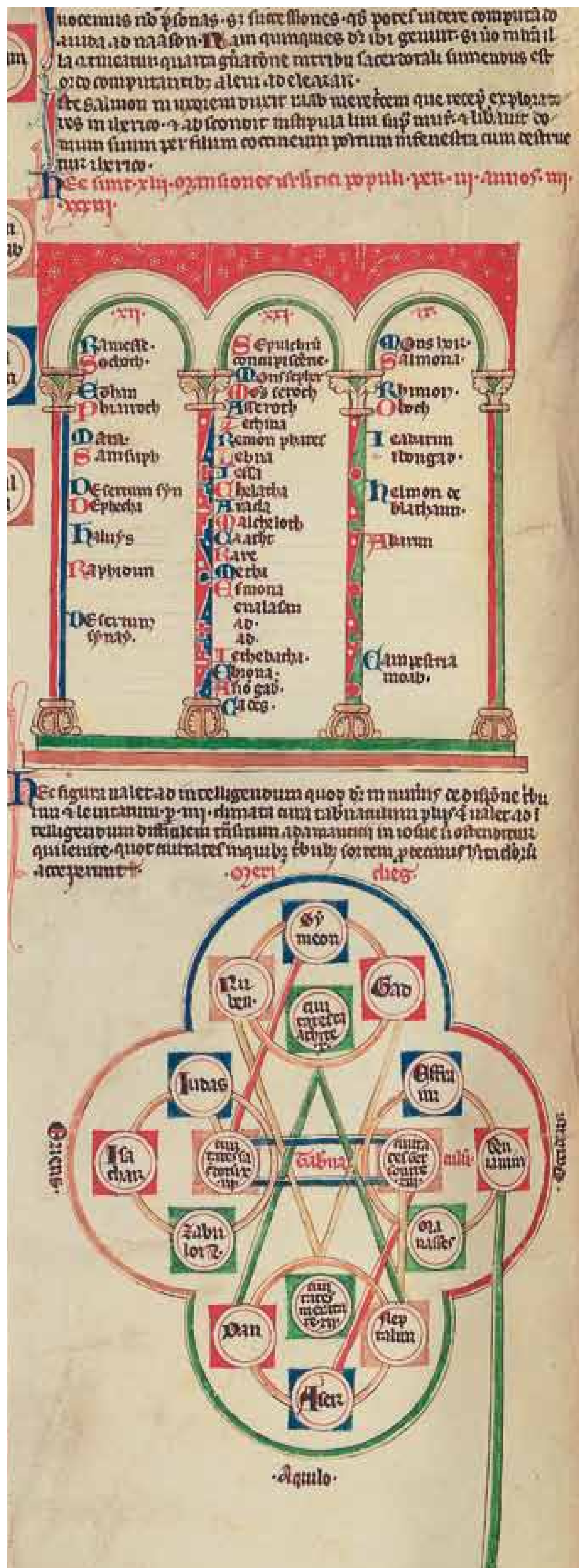
Not all versions of the *Compendium* include figural images. This scroll, like most English examples, presents simple outline drawings highlighted with colored ink. It limits the drawings primarily to seated portraits enclosed in circles within squares, on the central column. Figures sit on thrones that float in empty space—the white parchment a contrast to the brightly colored frames with delicate incised patterns that surround it. In addition to the seated portraits, the scroll includes an unusual illustration of kings and bishops in the left column of the second section, a pictorial supplement to the diagram of Jerusalem that shows the holy city's highest-ranking citizens, also in the second section (illustrated). The illustrations, both major and minor, rely on a limited palette of bold colors that stand out from the lines of text, which is itself occasionally embellished with colored initials adorned with delicate penwork.

The more practical codex had replaced the scroll, or roll, centuries before Peter of Poitiers was active. However, the medieval examples of the *Compendium* often revived this archaizing form, for the linear content of historical succession lent itself to the scroll format.[5] Other types of genealogies and illustrated chronicles other than the *Compendium* often made use of the scroll format as well. Nevertheless, sixty of the nearly ninety surviving copies of the *Compendium* take the form of codices. Some of those in book form display ingenious arrangements to compensate for the limitations of bound folios. They might, for example, use foldouts or shift the orientation of text and diagrams.

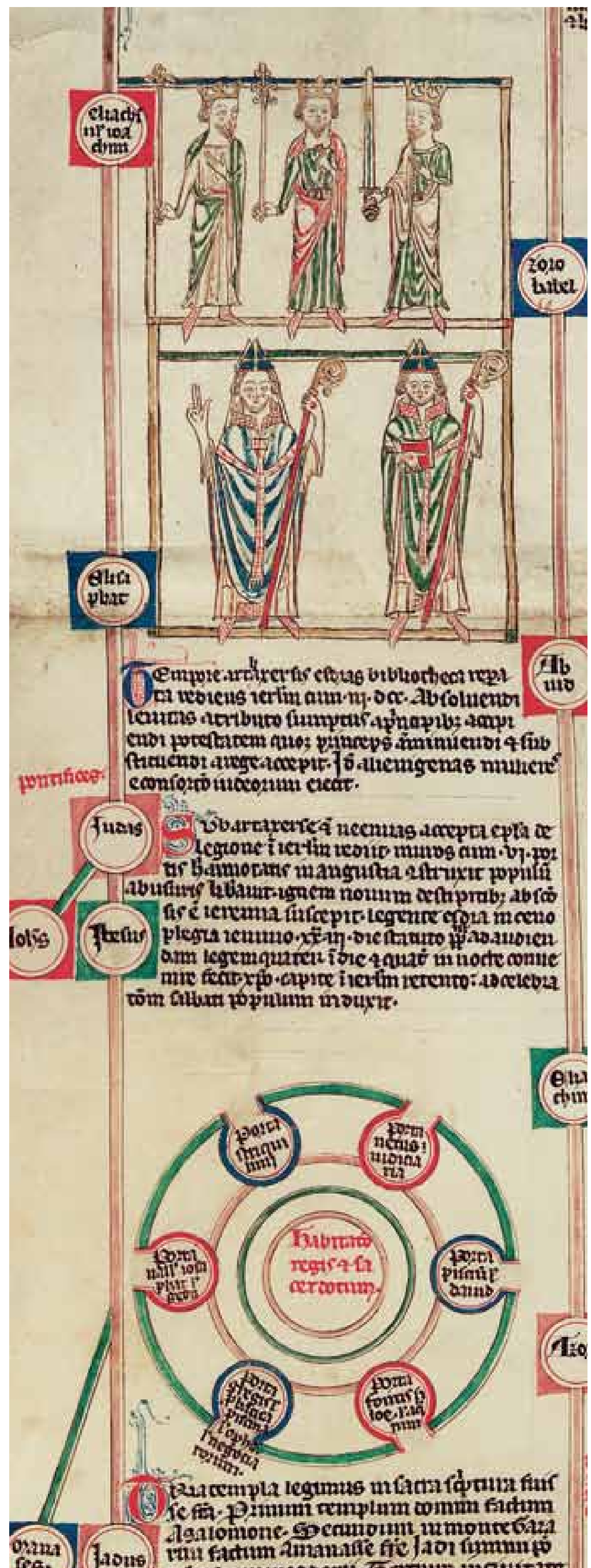
The impressive length of the *Compendium* scrolls suggests that they probably did not hang from the classroom wall, as first proposed by a French antiquarian in the eighteenth century and subsequently repeated by other observers.[6] It seems more likely that only shorter scrolls, easily unfurled to make it possible to view their contents in their entirety, served as classroom and church wall posters. Like the scrolls of antiquity, the various copies of the *Compendium* were probably viewed in sections, unrolled on a table or desk to expose only the parts under discussion, as the focus of intimate discussions among teachers and pupils.[7]

MH

1. For a transcription of the scroll's text and a German translation, see Hans Vollmer, ed., *Deutsche Bibelauszüge des Mittelalters zum Stammbaum Christi mit ihren lateinischen Vorbildern und Vorlagen* (Potsdam, 1931).
2. Sears 1986, pp. 54–79.
3. Evans 1980.
4. Bloch 1983.
5. Monroe 1989, pp. 24–31, 39–50; Kelly 1996, pp. 12–29. A substantial fragment of a thirteenth-century English Peter of Poitiers Roll is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2002.443). See Barnet 2003, p. 12.
6. J. Lebeuf, *Dissertation sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Paris* (Paris, 1741), vol. 2, p. 133, as discussed in Monroe 1989, pp. 39–40.
7. See Monroe 1989, pp. 40–47, on the difficulties of using the physical evidence to determine how the scrolls were originally employed in the classroom.



Detail, diagrams of the resting places of the Israelites and the Twelve Tribes



Detail, kings, bishops, and diagram of Jerusalem

32. *Four Winds Diagram*

Austria, ca. 1300
Single sheet, 31.5 × 23.5 cm (12⅜ × 9¼ in.)
Text: Wind Poem, attributed to Isidore of Seville
Decoration: 1 full-page diagram
Dr. Jörn Günther, Antiquariat

Provenance: Franz von Hauslaub (1798–1883); Prince Johann II von Liechtenstein (1840–1929), 1883; H. P. Kraus, 1948; Beck Collection; Dr. Jörn Günther Antiquariat, 1997.

Selected Literature: "Rückblick auf die Schweizerische Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse," *Die Weltkunst* 36 (1966), p. 1015; Raff, 1978–79, p. 152, fig. 123.

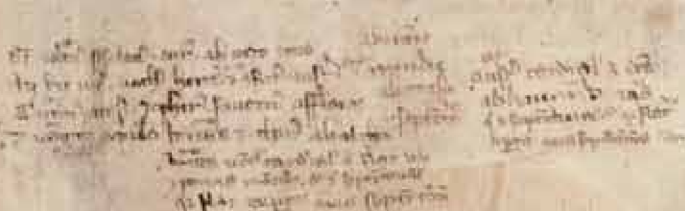
The medieval wind diagram compresses centuries of ancient and medieval scientific teaching into a readily grasped scheme based on a *rota,* or wheel (see cat. no. 31), the format often favored in the Middle Ages for the presentation of cosmological information.[1] This example from about 1300, a single leaf now separated from its original codex, draws from that tradition and adds to it varied representations of human figures. The drawn figures provide visual interest, even humor, but above all they make explicit the harmonious structure of the cosmos and its origins in the divine.

The inscription in the outer ring makes clear the subject: *flatibus.orbe.tonant.hii.quatuor.imperiales.horum.qui[a].q[uae]. volant.sunt.octo.ministeriales.* (These are the four cardinal winds and eight secondary winds that resound with their blasts through the five zones of the world.)[2] The four heads in roundels, with blasts of air escaping from the sides of their mouths, personify the principal winds and concurrently mark the four cardinal directions from whence they blow. The serious mien of the placid, strictly frontal faces—meant to recall antique busts—contrasts with the playful pairs of full-length figures blowing horns in the diagonal lunettes. These represent the eight secondary winds. Six of the eight are in contemporary dress, but the mischievous duo at the southwest corner (like most medieval wind charts, this one shows the south at the top) are nude, and the placement of their blasting instruments calls to mind base bodily functions instead of celestial currents of air.

The images help to organize the diagram's venerable texts, most of which come from a widely circulated poem about the winds. Traditionally attributed to the great medieval encyclopedia compiler Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), the poem begins in the innermost medallion with its description of the winds' "twelvefold blast." In the manner of concrete poetry, the verses continue in the spaces next to the heads; the texts specific to each wind are aligned with the appropriate personification. The text in the tightly nested set of four rings surrounding the central medallion provides a succinct chart of parallel terms: the cardinal directions stacked upon the names of the winds in both transliterated Greek and Latin. Dominating the whole scheme are the head, hands, and feet of Christ that emerge from the cardinal points at the south, east, west, and north of the *rota,* a reminder of the Christian God's governing role that could not be more overt. With its multiple sets of neat correlations, wherein each aspect reinforces every other aspect, the wind *rota* and its drawn decoration affirm the cosmos to be a splendidly closed system, neatly worked out by the divine hand.

This leaf likely came from a book version of the *Compendium of History through the Genealogy of Christ* by Peter of Poitiers. A group of these codices, based on this compendium, all probably Austrian in origin and all dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, include similar wind diagrams in their prefaces.[3] They share the same texts and certain peculiarities of their placement. With the exception of one unfinished manuscript, all make use of busts to represent the cardinal winds as well as an evocation of Christ's splayed body to show the winds' divine origin.[3] That such diagrams would preface a comprehensive history should not surprise: both explain how God's universe and its parts achieve harmonious perfection. MH

1. On wind diagrams, see Obrist 1997.
2. The translation is approximate because the Latin is corrupt.
3. Monroe 1989, pp. 160–62; Raff 1978–79, pp. 150–53. The group comprises Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 364, fol. 4v, and MS 378, fol. 1v; Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, Linz, Cod. 490, fol. 3v; Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, MS 445, fol. 2r; Newberry Library MS +22.1, m.1.
3. Each, however, treats the secondary winds uniquely. In one of the diagonal half-circles of MS 364 from Vienna, unruly pairs of dark-skinned devils press the wind, as if it were water, from an urn-shaped windbag, suggesting their music, unlike that produced by the charming horn-blowers on our leaf, is more mischievous than melodious.



33. *Model Book of Initials*

Tuscany, Italy, ca. 1175
3 folios, 23 × 14.5 cm (9 1/16 × 5 11/16 in.)
Decoration: 6 pages of initials, of which 1 initial is painted
The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 83-1972

Provenance: Francis Wormald, before 1958; The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1972.

Selected Literature: Alexander 1978a, pp. 24–25, pl. XXV; Gullick 1979; Alexander 1992, p. 94, fig. 154; Scheller 1995, no. 7.

The draftsman's art is often concealed by thick pigment. This book, the earliest known set of pattern sheets for decorated initials, affords a glimpse of the vital foundation that drawing provides for much painted work. The three folios, each covered on both sides by initials, include the pen drawings for an entire Latin alphabet as well as two fully painted initials. This small but ideal compilation of manuscript leaves illustrates not only the process of the twelfth-century Tuscan artists who specialized in initials but also the distinctive yet interdependent roles of drawing and painting in the creation of elaborate initials.

The pages, once bound into a larger work, show twenty-two different letters. Most conform to the pattern of decoration typically seen in Florentine and Pisan manuscripts in the third quarter of the twelfth century, in which densely intertwined vines fill the interstices of unadorned Roman capital letters. An occasional flourish in the form of acanthus leaves or birds makes an appearance within a capital. Some letters appear twice, suggesting variations at the artist's disposal. Though the *A* and *C*, for instance, are presented two times (fols. 1r, 3v, illustrated), each frames a markedly different vine pattern. The *N* appears in both majuscule and minuscule forms (fols. 2r, 2v, illustrated), while the *D*, on a single page (fol. 1r, illustrated), is shown in angular Roman and in rounded uncial. In a side-by-side rendering the *S*



Fol. 1r



Fol. 3v



Fols. 1v–2r



Fols. 2v–3r

occasions both an elegant foliage-filled letter and a whimsical one in the form of a sinuous dragon (fol. 2r, illustrated). The arrangement of the letters sometimes seems haphazard—with letters floating in empty space—and sometimes carefully composed so as to fit as many initials as possible on a single page. The space surrounding the letters merits attention as well. Addorsed birds fill in the awkward V-shape between two *A*'s, (fol. 1r, illustrated), while roundels showing symbols of two Evangelists enliven the area next to the extended shaft of the *F* (fol. 3r, illustrated).

In his facsimile of the pattern book, Michael Gullick has traced the steps in the production of the initials from first essays in plummet to the final touches of paint. Ink drawings, done over faint sketches in plummet, provided the outlines of each letter's rectangular frame and of the letters themselves. Compass and ruler often assisted in the drawing of rounded shapes and straight edges. Drawings indicate the positive and negative spaces of the foliate pattern around the letters and occasionally—as in one of the *A*'s, and the majuscule *N* (fols. 1r, 2r, illustrated)—they map out the egg-and-dart pattern that decorated the letters themselves. Most of the contoured panels that form the letters themselves, however, remain surprisingly free of decoration, awaiting the spontaneous ornamentation that the last strokes of colored paint would provide. The painting process involved several steps, beginning with the application of a layer of flat color on the letters and ground, followed by marking of the outlines with pen and ink. The artist completed the work by painting small details in the form of highlights, tiny dots, and diaper patterns.

The very existence of this pattern book, a genre hardly known prior to the twelfth century, speaks to the rise of the professional artist, one evidently trained in the requisite discipline of drawing. Studies of Tuscan manuscripts suggest that by the end of the eleventh century both scribe and illuminator might be paid professionals, itinerant laymen who produced works for the various churches and monasteries of a region and who may or may not have worked alongside monastic scribes or artists.[1] The increasing professionalization of manuscript production in central Italy at this time might therefore explain the growing conformity found in decorated initials, as does the emergence of pattern books, which implies a more systematic approach to book decoration than seen before. Professional artists may have restricted themselves to a fairly narrow stylistic repertoire, a significant departure from the highly idiosyncratic and notably diverse initials associated with monastic scriptoria, and monastic reading practices (see cat. nos. 1, 18). MH

1. See Berg 1968, esp. pp. 203–20.

34. Set of Drawings from a *Liber officialis*

Einsiedeln, Switzerland, first half of 12th century
338 pages, 26 × 18.3 cm (10¼ × 7³⁄₁₆ in.), 14th-century binding
Text: blessings, *Ordo ad faciendum monachum*, *Liber officialis*
Decoration: 3 folios of sketches
Stiftsbibliothek, Einsiedeln, Cod. 112 (465), pp. 2–5

Provenance: Monastery of Einsiedeln, 17th century.

Selected Literature: Birchler 1927–30, vol. 1, pp. 186, 192; Bruckner 1935–78, vol. 5 (1943), p. 172, pl. XXX; Degenhart 1950, esp. pp. 100, 150, fig. 27; Evans 1969, p. 35, pl. 88; Scheller 1995, no. 5.

This fascinating set of images, bound with an unrelated liturgical text, offers striking evidence of the use of independent sketches for the transmission of artistic styles, themes, and patterns in the twelfth century. The three folios, pages 2 to 5 in the codex (illustrated), show a variety of motifs—figural studies, meander patterns, even a historiated initial—that represent an artist's careful recording of precedents from a range of media. Technically accomplished, the drawings make use of firm outlines and a skilled application of wash. They testify to the presence of an artist at ease with a monochrome palette the illusionistic possibilities of which he was curious to explore.

The drawings embody the fluid movement of objects, artists, and ideas in the regions north and south of the Alps during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1] The figures, as well as the meander patterns, birds, and foliate motifs, show obvious affinities with contemporary mosaic and painted wall decoration in Rome, southern Italy, and Sicily. The same meander patterns also occur in the wall paintings of Reichenau in Germany, and the foliate forms appear in Ottonian manuscripts and Mosan and Rhenish metalwork. While the hard-edged, formal style of the figural drawings in the present manuscript must derive from the Byzantine works of Italy and Norman Sicily, they also call to mind the byzantinizing figures favored in the Salzburg and Reichenau-Prüfening scriptoria.[2]

Whenever and wherever the artist trained and traveled, the sheets he produced likely came to the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln near Lake Constance by the twelfth century. Pages 1 and 6 bear texts in a twelfth-century script similar to that found elsewhere in the manuscript and in other books that remain at the abbey in Einsiedeln. Furthermore, an illuminated manuscript, now housed at the neighboring monastery of Saint Gall but probably produced in Einsiedeln, indicates that the arrival of the sketches in Einsiedeln may have had an immediate impact on local artists.

The Saint Gall manuscript, a twelfth-century copy of an Old High German translation and commentary on the psalms by Notker the German, includes an image of the Virgin and Child (fig. 34.1).[3] Though its free, unsophisticated graphic style recalls contemporary Einsiedeln manuscripts, the Saint Gall image displays certain features that depart from the scriptorium's usual production.[4] The depiction of the Virgin is remarkably elaborate. Seated on a throne and wearing a distinctive lobed, jeweled crown, she appears as Maria Regina, an iconographic type associated with Byzantium in which the mother of Jesus assumes the guise of an imperial princess.[5] An ornate frame surrounds her, and she holds an outsized flower as a scepter. The more typical Einsiedeln images of Mary show her simply veiled and in a less iconic pose, perhaps in an architectural setting but usually without a frame.[6]

If one views the image of the Virgin in the Notker manuscript with the Einsiedeln sketches in mind, some of its distinctive features gain a context. The two meander patterns that frame the Virgin, for instance, are similar to those on a page of the sketches. The local artist did not share the sketchbook master's interest or skill in creating spatial effects, but instead he traced a flat linear pattern that follows the outlines of the meander motifs in the sketches. The Saint Gall Virgin's flower, with



Fig. 34.1. Virgin and Child, p. 4, *Translatio barbarica psalterii Nokteri tertii* (Notker's Old-German Psalter), Einsiedeln, 12th century. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, MS 21 (exhibited)



Pp. 2–3, Saint Gregory and Saint Benedict; foliate designs

its curlicued edges, folded upper element, and tinted interior, can perhaps be understood as a simplified version of the lush leaf and flower forms in the sketches, in which the outer lobes gently curve in at the edges and touches of wash suggest the plant's inner recesses.

The Maria Regina type of Mary finds no parallel among the sketches, but a number of her characteristics link her to some figures in the sketches, which specifically reveal an Italian influence. The Maria Regina is a traditional form in Rome and farther south, where it frequently appears in large-scale wall decorations. By the early tenth century the type had made its way north, where, however, it usually did not include the distinctive lobed crown of the Italian Maria Reginas.[7] Similarly, the Einsiedeln manuscript shows an angel with a jeweled tunic that recalls Byzantine ceremonial wear, which often appears in Italy but is rarely seen north of the Alps. Nor did the rounded miter familiar in Italy seem to travel north except for its inclusion in the Einsiedeln sketches. We might wonder whether the original sketches included any other figures known in Italian monumental settings, as the Einsiedeln sketches are incomplete; the sheet showing the meander and foliate forms is missing its other half, and the stub that remains still bears faint traces of lines.[8] We can only speculate about what might have appeared on the now-missing folio.

Even though it is impossible to demonstrate that the Maria Regina image in the Notker text derives from one of the Einsiedeln sketches, the meander and floral motifs in both manuscripts provide credible evidence that the Einsiedeln folios may have served as a working sketchbook within the monastery. Various model books and sketches from the Middle Ages survive that must have transmitted Byzantine motifs from Italy to the north.[9] Rarely are we able to suggest a direct relationship between an artist's sketch and a later image. The two manuscripts associated with Einsiedeln, however, may offer the opportunity to identify specific independent drawings that made a set of motifs from a distant source accessible to local artists.

MH

1. Scholarly discussions of artistic exchanges between Byzantium and the West in the transalpine region abound. For two succinct overviews, see Kitzinger 1966; Castelnuovo 1979.

2. Robert Scheller provides a thorough discussion of possible prototypes for the various motifs in his discussion of the sketches (Scheller 1995, no. 5).

3. For an online facsimile with a description, current bibliography, and discussion of its links to Einsiedeln, see the Saint Gall Library website.



Pp. 4–5, Christ in Majesty; an Angel, Saint John the Baptist, and ornamental initial

4. Birchler 1927–30, vol. 1, pp. 184–89. For earlier work from Einsiedeln, see Euw 1996.
5. Lawrence 1925.
6. The lobed crown and flowering scepter also begin to appear in manuscript illumination at the nearby Weingarten Abbey in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. See H. Swarzenski 1943. My thanks to Christine Sciacca for this reference.
7. The Virgin in the Ottonian Gospel of Saint Bernward in Hildesheim (Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Hildesheim, Inv. No. DS 18, fol. 17r), for instance, wears a golden crown with three fleurs-de-lis points.
8. My thanks to Christine Verzar for verifying this detail.
9. These include the Freiburg leaf (Augustinermuseum, inv. No. G 23/1a-cor) and the Wolftenbüttel Musterbuch (fig. 18).



Fols. 27v–28r, Paschal lamb; Rabban Gamaliel teaching students

35. *Prato Haggadah*

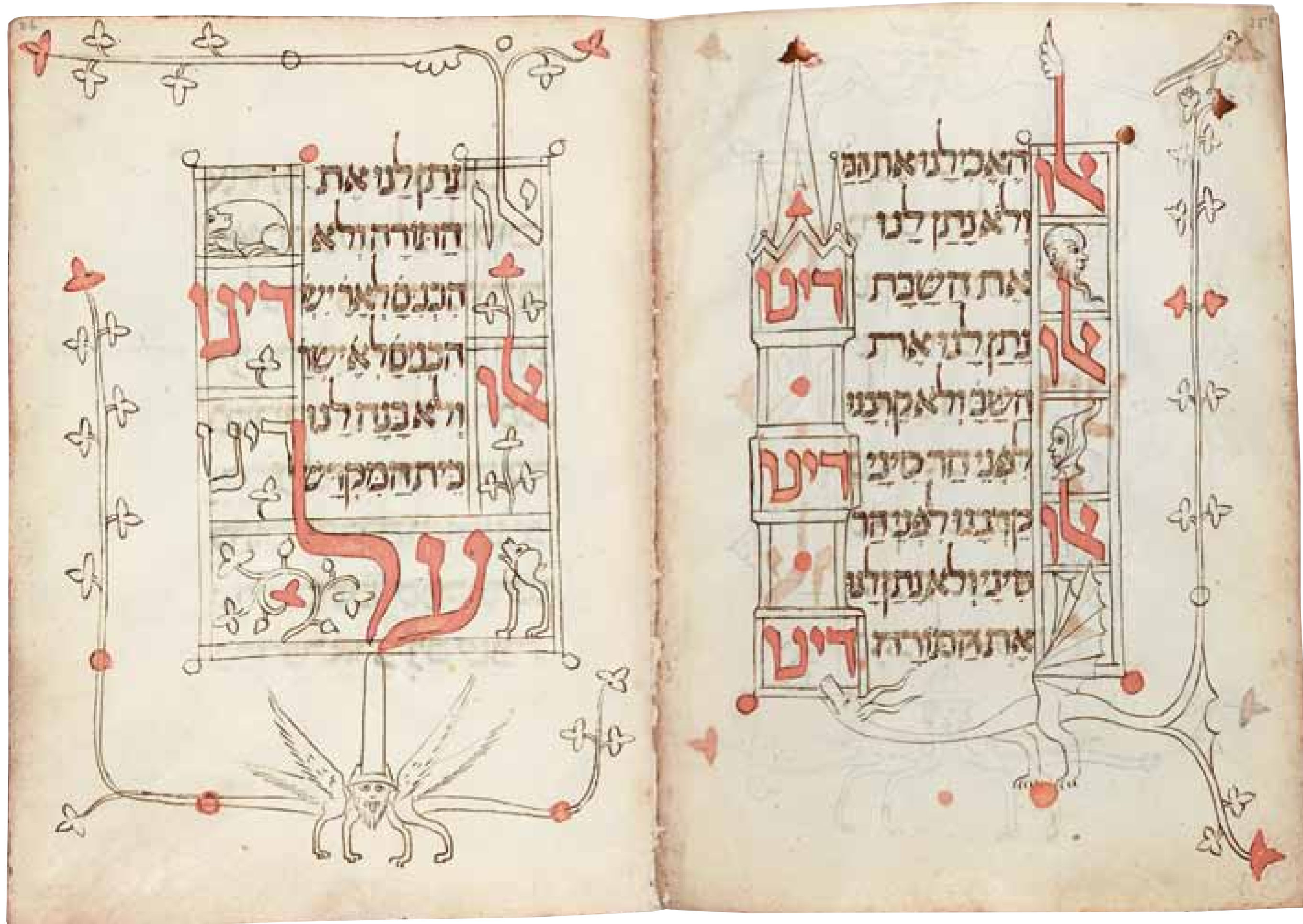
Spain, ca. 1300
85 folios, ca. 21 × 14.9 cm (8¼ × 5⅞ in.), modern binding
Text: service for the Passover seder, in accordance with the Sephardic rite; additions in accordance with the Italian rite (mid-15th to 16th century), in Hebrew
Decoration: 87 pages including illuminated initial word panels, 4 full-page miniatures, several smaller illustrations, and numerous marginalia, of which most are in various stages of completion.
The Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, MS 9478

Provenance: Collection of Dr. Ludwig Pollack, Rome, 1928; given to Dr. Jeonathan Prato, ca. 1951; purchased from Dr. Prato for The Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, 1964.

Selected Literature: Narkiss 1956, p. 6; E. Cohen 1992; Prato Haggadah 2007.

The Prato Haggadah is one of the finest examples of an illuminated Haggadah from fourteenth-century Spain. As is true of other extant Sephardic copies of this text, which normally is read at the Passover seder, there is no colophon and consequently no indication of the volume's exact date and place of production or of the person for whom the manuscript was created. The Haggadah was written in square Sephardic script through folio 53r. Text that follows the Italian rite, which probably was added in Italy in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, appears on folio 54r and continues until folio 68r, where the written section of the work concludes. This later part, penned in square Ashkenazic script, was never decorated. The manuscript was censored by Giovanni Carretto in Italy in 1617.

The original fourteenth-century Sephardic section was, however, designed for ornamentation. The decorative program comprises illuminated initial word panels at the opening of important passages of text; four full-page miniatures depicting the scholar Rabban Gamaliel, a matzoh, bitter herbs, and a family seated at the seder table; several smaller text illustrations, which include depictions of the Four Sons, the Land of Goshen, and the Paschal lamb; and numerous marginalia showing musicians, fanciful hybrid figures, several hunt scenes, and a few visual puns on the text. Examples of framed scenes appear on folios 27v–28r



Fols. 25v–26r, *Dayyeinu* text and hybrid creatures

(illustrated), where at the right Rabban Gamaliel, seated on a cathedra, instructs his pupils, while on the left the Paschal Lamb stands beneath the initial word of the text that discusses it. Whimsical decoration unrelated to the text is found on folios 25v–26r (illustrated), in the ornamentation of *Dayyeinu*, a song of thanksgiving, in which the words of the refrain are set off in columns on either side of the page. In one humorous illustration the repeated word *dayyeinu* (it would have satisfied us) is stacked in units one above the other to create sections of a Gothic tower that is bitten by a dragon whose tail sprouts leaves. On the opposite page a strange hybrid creature faces the reader and sticks out its tongue.

For reasons unknown, while the manuscript was still in Spain, its decoration was terminated abruptly. The resulting incomplete state is revelatory, as the various stages in the process of the illumination of a manuscript are visible on the eighty-seven pages that were prepared for adornment. After the text was penned by the scribe, drawings were executed on the leaves that were to be illuminated. The parchment then was readied for the application of gold leaf, with gesso applied to create a raised surface. More than half of the decorated pages in the *Prato Haggadah* were left in this state, while a few others have gold leaf and no color, or gold leaf and blue pigment only, with the other colors not having been applied. Only folios 1r–16v and the bifolium 33r/40v were illuminated fully, with details modeled in different shades and with black ink outlining the forms.

Many illuminated Sephardic Haggadot from the fourteenth century include a cycle of biblical scenes, usually preceding the text. It seems that one such cycle was intended for the *Prato Haggadah*; a decorative frame was drawn on folio 78r, within which concentric semicircles were scored, most likely in preparation for a scene dealing with the creation of the world. Two drawings were executed fully: Noah's ark, in the form of a medieval casket, floating on water (fol. 84r), and the open ark, floating on swells containing destroyed buildings and drowned figures (fol. 84v). Noah, his family, and pairs of animals stand in the compartments of the ark, while the dove that had been sent from it returns bearing an olive branch in its beak. The numerous blank folios in this section indicate that more scenes had been planned. EMC

36. *Tickhill Psalter*

Nottinghamshire, England, after 1303–ca. 1314
vii + 154 + vi folios, 32.6 × 22.2 cm ($12\frac{13}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in.), ca. 1780 and mid-20th-century binding
Text: *Commentarius in psalmos* by Peter Lombard*;* litany and collects
Decoration: 11 historiated initials for preface and at main divisions of text, most nearly full page; frontispiece for psalm text with Tree of Jesse; 482 *bas-de-page* scenes; numerous minor initials; marginal decorations and line fillers throughout until folio 115.
New York Public Library, New York, Spencer 26

Provenance: Worksop Priory, Nottinghamshire; William Kerr of Newbattle Abbey, Scotland, third marquess of Lothian (d. 1767); descended to William Kerr, earl of Ancram and marquess of Lothian (1763–1824); remained at Newbattle Abbey and descended in family of marquess of Lothian; American Art Association, 1932, no. 7; purchased for Spencer Collection, 1932.

Selected Literature: Egbert 1940 (with extensive photographs and descriptions); Sandler 1986; New York 2005–6, cat. no. 41 (with bibl.).

This psalter is as noteworthy for the profusion of its decoration as for that decoration's startling diminution as the manuscript's illustrations develop. The book discloses over the course of some dozen unpainted pages the foundational role of drawing in the production of the most luxurious manuscripts. The first ninety folios offer a dazzling display of the manuscript illuminator's art. No page is without some form of decoration. The main initial pages (for example, fol. 26v, illustrated) are overwhelming in their dense compositions, rich palette, and liberal use of gold, all surrounded by lavish frames. Starting at folio 91r, the images become less distinct (illustrated); the finishing details are gone. At folio 107r paint disappears entirely from the pictures, leaving a short sequence of uncolored pen drawings that dwindle to a pair of ethereal sketches rendered in plummet on the last page before the decoration ceases altogether on folio 112v. No doubt a disappointment to its original patron, the aborted project resulted in a happy outcome for modern viewers by providing a glimpse of the artists' working process.



Fol. 26v, Full-page initial



Fol. 91v, First full-page partially painted initial



Fols. 111v–112r, Unfinished sketches

Using a color-coded presentation of texts and copious images, the psalter magnificently integrates exegesis and biblical history with the psalms. The text portion for each psalm includes a heading in gold leaf, followed by extracts of a commentary by the theologian Peter Lombard (ca. 1100–1160) in red and the biblical text itself in black, creating an unusual, visually striking, and highly legible page layout. The program of narrative illustration runs an independent and persistent course through the first three-quarters of the book. Scenes from the book of Genesis appear below the prefatory text by Peter Lombard that opens the volume. Then, beginning with the scenes presented within the historiated *B* of *Beatus,* the first word of the first psalm, and continuing on every *bas-de-page,* through each of the full-page initials that mark the traditional divisions of the psalms, more than 450 pictures provide a verse-by-verse depiction of the life of David, author of the psalms, and his son Solomon as recounted in the biblical books of Samuel and Kings. Though not included in the psalter, the *Historia scholastica*, a world history by Petrus Comestor (d. 1178) that elaborates upon the biblical account, provides information that helps to fill in some of the pictures' details.

It is rare to see underdrawings in painted medieval manuscripts and rarer still to see them side-by-side with the pen drawings that replace them.[1] Such sketches were generally done in hardpoint, plummet, or charcoal and likely erased, brushed off, or covered over in the process of painting. Folios 111v and 112r (illustrated), the last pages in the manuscript with pictorial decoration, show the early stages of several scenes that culminate in the death of Joab, the commander of David's army. Ordered by David on his deathbed to kill Joab for past betrayals, Solomon commands Benaiah to coax Joab from the tabernacle, the scene shown on the left side of 111v. When Joab refuses to leave, Solomon instructs Benaiah to slay him within the tabernacle's confines, depicted in the adjacent scene. The sketches on 112r portray the killing by Benaiah's sword of Joab, who clings to the draped altar, and the sarcophagus that is Joab's final resting place. Whereas the pen drawings convey with delicate precision the contours of the figures, the texture of hair, facial details, and indications of drapery folds, the underdrawings map out in loose, spontaneous strokes the placement, proportions, and volumes of the figures and architecture. (The sad figure sketched on the sarcophagus is a later addition.) Visible in the scene on

the left are the feathery traces of a third leg belonging to Benaiah, a remnant of the artist's ruminations on the figure's pose.

Had work on the decoration not stopped, the sketch on the left of 112r would likely have next received identifying labels for each figure as well as the penned outlines of a single arcade indicating the tabernacle—the latter a vital detail of the story that appears in the two previous pictures of Joab. All of the drawn scenes would in time have been painted with an initial application of color, enhanced with linear details, and finished off with more paint to provide texture and shading. Completed pictures elsewhere in the book suggest that paint of various colors would have differentiated the sections of the building delineated in the sketch on the right and that pen and ink used together with paint would have simulated the mottled surface of the stone of the sarcophagus.[2]

Space for 170 additional pictures remains in the book. These empty spaces, jarring when set against the sumptuous and thoroughgoing decoration of the first three-quarters of the book, invite speculation about the volume's fate. A fifteenth-century inscription on the first folio begs the reader to "pray for the soul of Brother John Tickhill . . . former prior of the monastery of Worksop who wrote this book with his own hands and also gilded it."[3] Records in the archdiocese of York indicate that Tickhill was appointed prior to the Augustinian foundation in 1303, but that the archbishop removed him from his office after eleven years of service for "incontinence and dilapidation of the possessions of the monastery." Certainly, the suggestion by Donald D. Egbert that the extraordinary cost of producing this psalter, which was nearly unrivaled in its extravagance among contemporary manuscripts, contributed to the "dilapidation" of the monastery does not defy credulity.[4] Brother Tickhill's maladministration was perhaps necessary to allow modern viewers to gain rare access to the unmediated hand of a master medieval artist. MH

1. I distinguish underdrawings from the sorts of visual instructions sometimes found in the margins. See Alexander 1990, pp. 307–12.
2. For architecture, see fols. 51v or 55r. A sarcophagus appears on fol. 54v.
3. Egbert 1940, p. 6.
4. Ibid., pp. 6–7.

37. *Apocalypse Drawing*

Salzburg, Austria, 13th century
Single sheet, 39.5 × 58.5 cm (15½ × 23⅛ in.)
Decoration: drawing on recto with identifying inscriptions
Archabbey of Saint Peter, Salzburg

Provenance: Treasury of the Archabbey of Saint Peter, Salzburg.

Selected Literature: Moskowitz 1962–79, vol. 2 (1962), no. 304; Scheller 1995, p. 36 n. 121; Johann Apfelthaler, "170 Apokalypse-Blatt," in Salzburg 1996, pp. 449–51.

This large sheet of vellum was discovered folded and used for the binding of an account book for the years 1439 to 1470 in the treasury of the Archabbey of Saint Peter in Salzburg. Parts of the drawing, especially along the top and right margins, were lost when the sheet was trimmed. A square fragment from the same drawing is preserved separately.

Freehand drawings in brown ink illustrate the visions of John from the Throne in Heaven described in Revelation 4 to the Heavenly Jerusalem shown to him by an angel in Revelation 21. The scenes fill up a complex diagram laid out with the help of a compass. A double disk forms the center of two larger, concentric rings crossed by diagonals to create a four-spoked double wheel. Four semicircles of slightly larger diameter touch the rim of the wheel at each cardinal point. A few straight lines further subdivide the space. The geometric layout is traced with

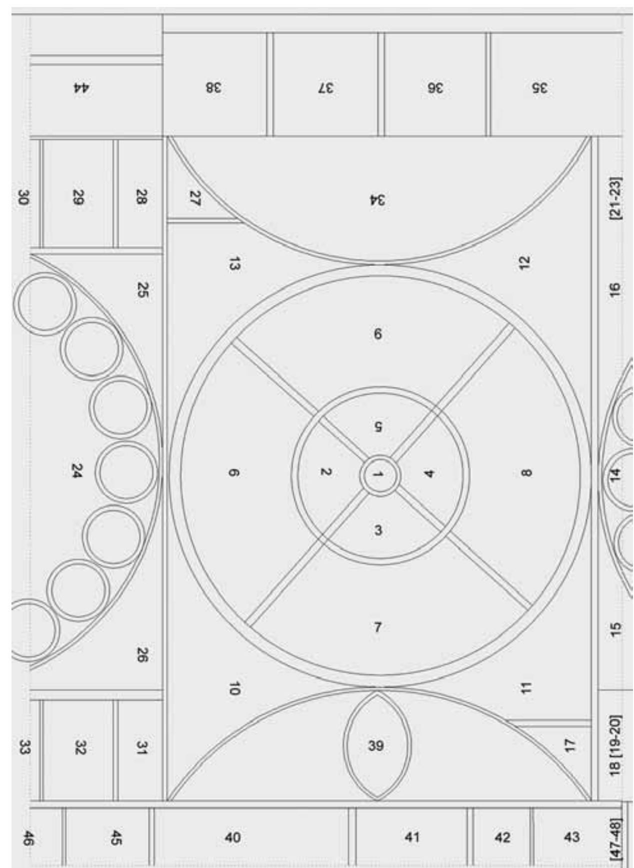
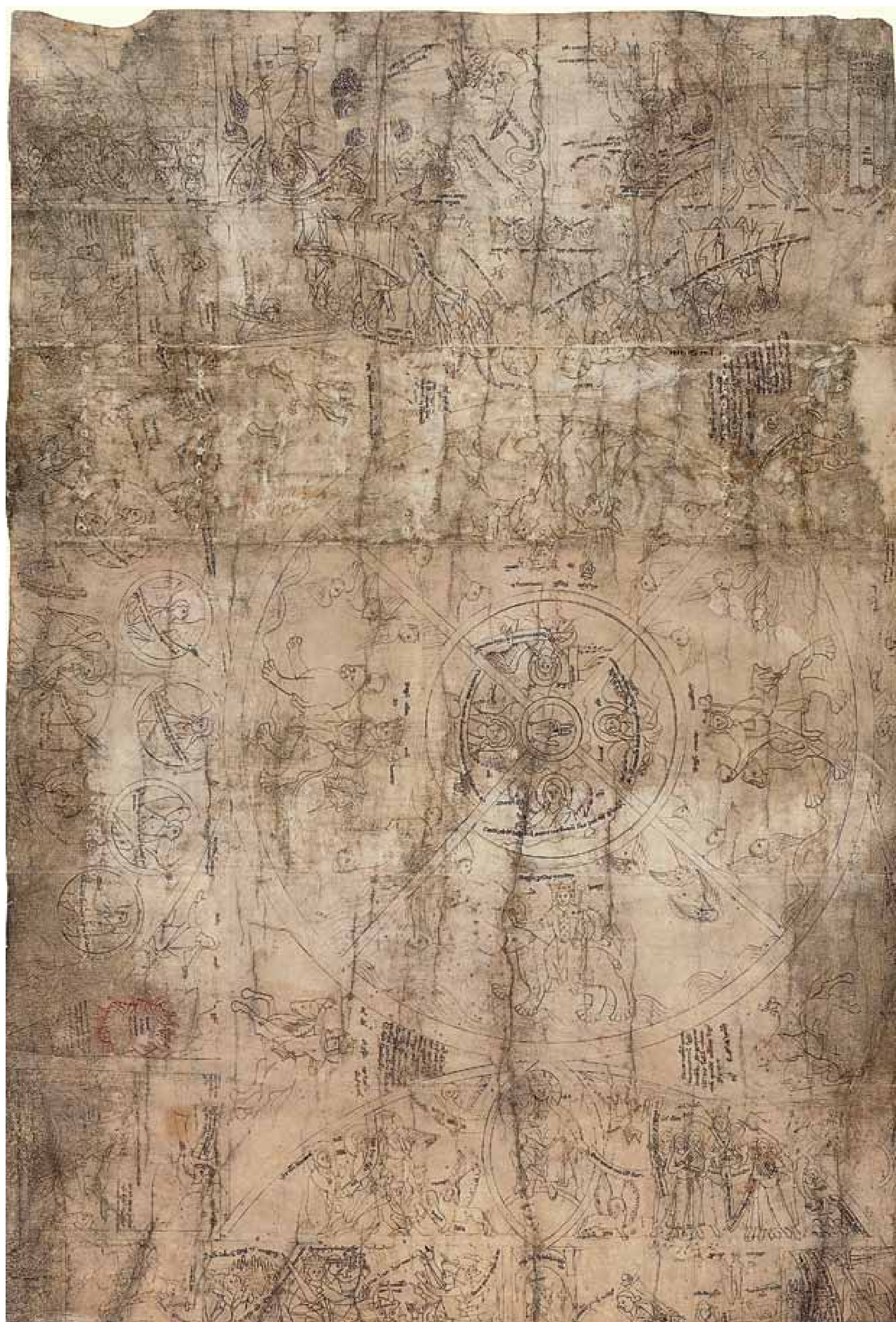
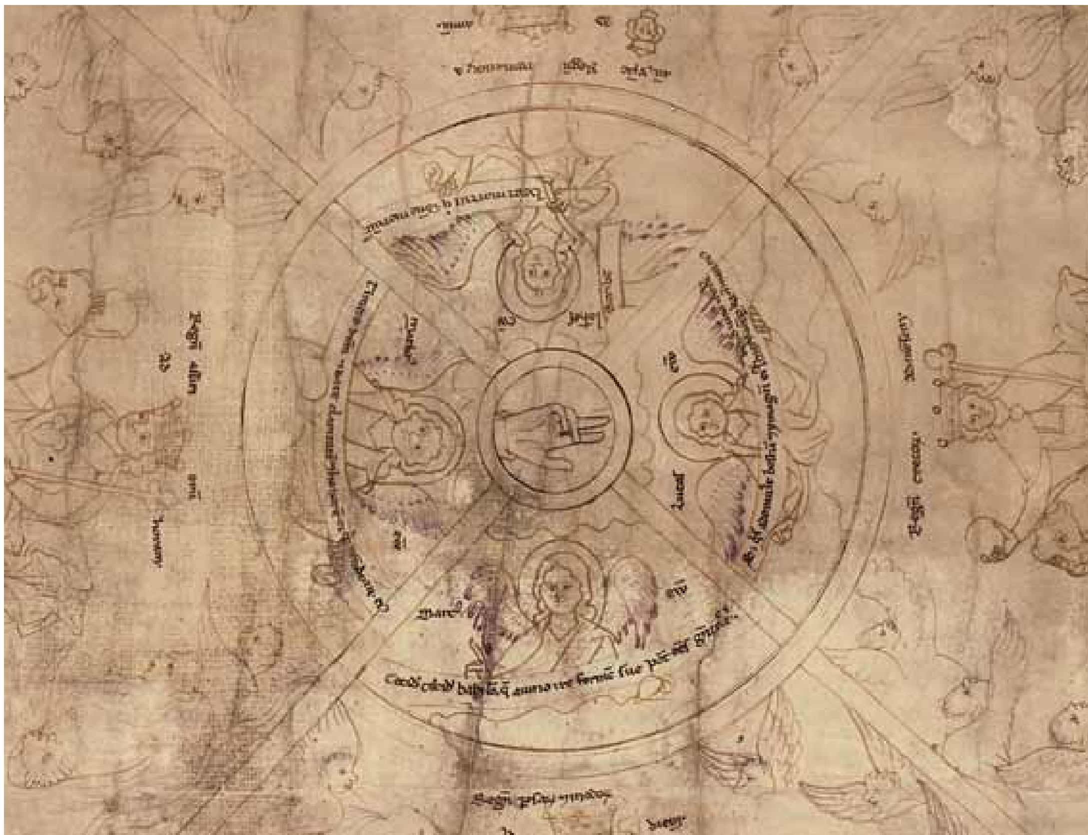


Fig. 37.1. *Apocalypse Drawing* schematic





Detail, Hand of God blessing

the same brown ink of the freehand drawings. A darker brown ink is used for the texts.

The parchment is filled with a crowd of figures, which can only be appreciated with close scrutiny. Most striking is the layout of the page, to which the accompanying diagram (fig. 37.1) serves as a guide. The hand of the Lord blessing from the central disk establishes a loose orientation (detail, illustrated). All other figures, scenes, and inscriptions are arranged concentrically, proceeding from the center outward without following any other orientation. The inner quadrants of the central wheel are occupied by four angels (2–5), each carrying a scroll bearing a passage from the book of Revelation. The name of an Evangelist is inscribed next to each angel. A crowned ruler with orb and scepter in each of the outer quadrants rides one of the four beasts described in Daniel 7 (6–9). They are stepping out of the waters of the sea, surrounded by the winged heads of blowing winds. The four horsemen just outside the outer ring of the disk are identified by inscriptions: they are Christ with a crossbow on a white horse (10), the devil with a sword on a red horse (11), hypocrisy with a pair of scales on a black horse (12), and death with a hatchet on a pale horse (13).

Almost nothing remains of the scenes on the right (14). However, inscriptions along the upper border mention a third, fourth, and fifth angel, which could refer to the angels John sees standing at the corners of the earth holding back the winds. The semicircle along the left edge (24) encloses angels sounding the seven trumpets. In the center, an angel seizes and binds a dragon. On the sides, the sounding of the first trumpet causes hail and fire mixed with blood to fall on earth (25), and that of the second trumpet causes a burning mountain, sketched in red ink, to plunge into the sea (26). The eagle heard by John is found on the left (27), above the angel (28) that makes a star fall to the earth by sounding his trumpet and then opens the bottomless pit to release locusts that will plague mankind (29). The angel on the right side of the semicircle (31), blowing his trumpet, releases four angels bound in the river Euphrates. Below this image, they are shown riding on horses and attacking the third part of men (32).

The semicircle on the left is taken up by God the Father crowning Jesus Christ, flanked by saints and by prophets and patriarchs (34). Below the throne, the holy martyrs, after the opening of the fifth seal, cry: "O Lord, avenge our blood." The compartments beneath them, from left to right, show: the Archangel Michael with a censer lighting incense on the golden altar with the Ark of the Covenant in the background (35); the woman clothed with the sun, which a caption identifies as the Church, handing up to heaven her newborn son, Christ, while the bust of Isaiah looks down from above and the seven-headed dragon roars beneath the prophet (36). The dragon persecuting the personification of the Church flies into the desert with two wings of a great eagle (37). Finally, the Church sits at a lectern in the desert while Solomon and Saint Paul point their fingers and instruct with scrolls (38). In these last two vignettes (37, 38), the

wings of both Church and dragon, as well as the bushes and trees in the desert, are highlighted in purple ink.

The semicircle on the opposite side of the central disk (39) shows Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the four living creatures, with the elders adoring him from the left, and angels carrying sickles and a wine vat on the right. The four compartments underneath are filled with throngs of people adoring the antichrist, the beast in the form of a lion, and the false prophet, from whose mouth frogs issue (40); the false prophet ordering the worship of the beast and the slaying of those who refuse (41); the worshiping of the image of the beast (42); and the fall of Babylon (43).

A small compartment along the parchment's left edge (44) shows Christ crowning the Church as his bride at a wedding table, in the presence of holy confessors, apostles, and the Virgin Mary. The scenes on the opposite corner of the parchment (45, 46) represent a crowned horseman and, underneath him, the birds flying down on the flesh of those slain by the sword that comes out of the horseman's mouth. Finally, on the small fragment now cut off from the folio (47, 48), an angel shows John the complex design of walls, doors, and towers of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The attribution and dating of the sheet—Salzburg, thirteenth century—are based on provenance and style. The sheet was first published by Otto Benesch in 1962 as "a document of unique importance in the history of drawing. It is the only known design for a cycle of frescoes of the thirteenth century."[1] In 1996 Johann Apfelthaler proposed that the drawing may have had one of two other possible functions; he argues that it is perhaps a didactic diagram for the visualization and memorization of the Apocalypse, or—less likely in his opinion—an illustration for a manuscript containing a commentary on Revelation.[2]

The execution of the geometric layout of the composition and the devising of such a complex program of interrelated figures and scenes demanded some preparation. The drawing seems the product of meditations on the Apocalypse carried out in a sophisticated scriptorium. Many characters hold scrolls bearing inscriptions that represent the words they are speaking and as such would appropriately appear on the walls of a church; however, there are also long passages of text that seem to be comments rather than identifying inscriptions or quotations of spoken words.

Drawings such as this one may have had a role in the devising and carrying out of the rich iconographic programs that we find on the walls of a number of thirteenth-century chapels. The visual evidence and the provenance of the sheet suggest that this particular drawing was made for someone interested in Apocalyptic writings who kept it within a scriptorium, quite possibly that of the Archabbey of Saint Peter, at his disposal and accessible to his students and followers. Whether he was ever involved in the patronage of a painted cycle inspired by Daniel and the Revelation of John, we do not know.

LVG

1. Moskowitz 1962–79, vol. 2 (1962), no. 304.
2. Johann Apfelthaler, "170 Apokalypse-Blatt," in Salzburg 1996, pp. 449–51.

38. *Facade of Strasbourg Cathedral (Plan A1)*

Strasbourg, France, 1260s
2 joined pieces of parchment, 86 × 59 cm (33⅞ × 23¼ in.)
Decoration: 1 drawing on recto, no text
Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, Inv. no. 2

PROVENANCE: Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, since it was created.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Recht 1969, p. 29; Pause 1973, no. 63; Liess 1985; Strasbourg 1989, pp. 381–84, cat. no. C2; Wortmann 1997, pp. 129–31; Frankl 2000, pp. 337–38, nn. 109A, 111; Bork 2006.

This drawing is an early design for the southern half of the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral (fig. 38.1), justly considered one of the most magnificent edifices of the Middle Ages. The drawing, with prick holes visible on the front face of the parchment but none on the back, is very similar to its model, the so-called Plan A (Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, inv. no. 1).[1] Together, they reveal an early scheme considered for the lower stories of the facade; they must, therefore, have been produced as the construction of the nave, which probably was initiated in the 1240s, approached completion.[2] The conception of the facade seems to have changed shortly thereafter. By the time its construction began, on May 25, 1277, it was closer to the design of the so-called Plan B (Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, inv. no. 3) than to Plans A and A1.[3] Even if not the plan ultimately used, Plan A1, with its

intricate tracery designs and assured handling of lines and curves, demonstrates a new level of draftsmanship that confidently represents three-dimensional structures with detail and precision.

Plan A1 and the other early drawings from the Strasbourg workshop reveal the germs of the designs the anonymous architect of the facade experimented with. (The name of Master Erwin von Steinbach, the architect intimately associated with Strasbourg, is not mentioned until 1284.) The architectural vocabulary employed in these early designs for the Strasbourg facade is similar to that of major Rayonnant monuments of the mid-thirteenth century, such as the transept facades of Notre-Dame of Paris and the west facade of the Abbey of Saint-Nicaise in Reims. Together with contemporary drawings from other centers, among them Cologne, the Strasbourg sheets comprise the earliest sets of architectural drawings that have survived from the workshops of medieval Europe.[4]

The emergence of masterly draftsmanship in such drawings and the increasing frequency of their production starting in the late thirteenth century coincided with the growing status of architects who worked with designs and supervised construction as distinguished from those who worked with hands and tools. Indeed, Nicolas de Biard, the Dominican preacher active in Paris in the thirteenth century, famously invoked the image of the architect "who orders matters only by word, rarely or never putting his hand to the task."[5] The newfound prestige enjoyed by architects was accompanied by a growing division of labor on the construction site, both of which are vividly reflected in workshop contracts, guild regulations, building accounts, and other documents that started to appear at about the end of the thirteenth century.[6]

Using simple draftsman's tools such as a compass and straightedge, architects began to make sophisticated drawings on parchment of the monumental edifices they envisioned. Because the cost of parchment was prohibitive, many architects used it only for presentations—Villard de Honnecourt's drawings of the 1220s and 1230s on parchment (figs. 21, 22) were unlikely to be casual sketches.[7] Architects scraped drawings off parchment to create clean surfaces for new designs, which resulted, for example, in the so-called Reims palimpsests of the mid-thirteenth century.[8] This practice undoubtedly deprives us of many early architectural drawings. When paper was introduced to the West in the fourteenth century, workshops quickly included it among their media. A dramatic increase in the number of architectural drawings on both parchment and paper followed, as evidenced by the more than four hundred examples from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century now in Vienna.[9]

NW

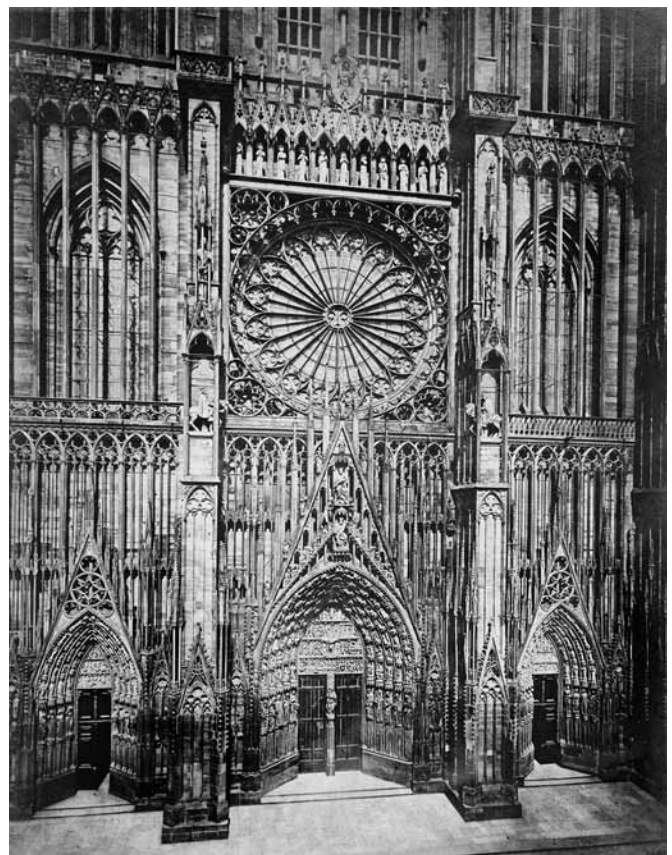
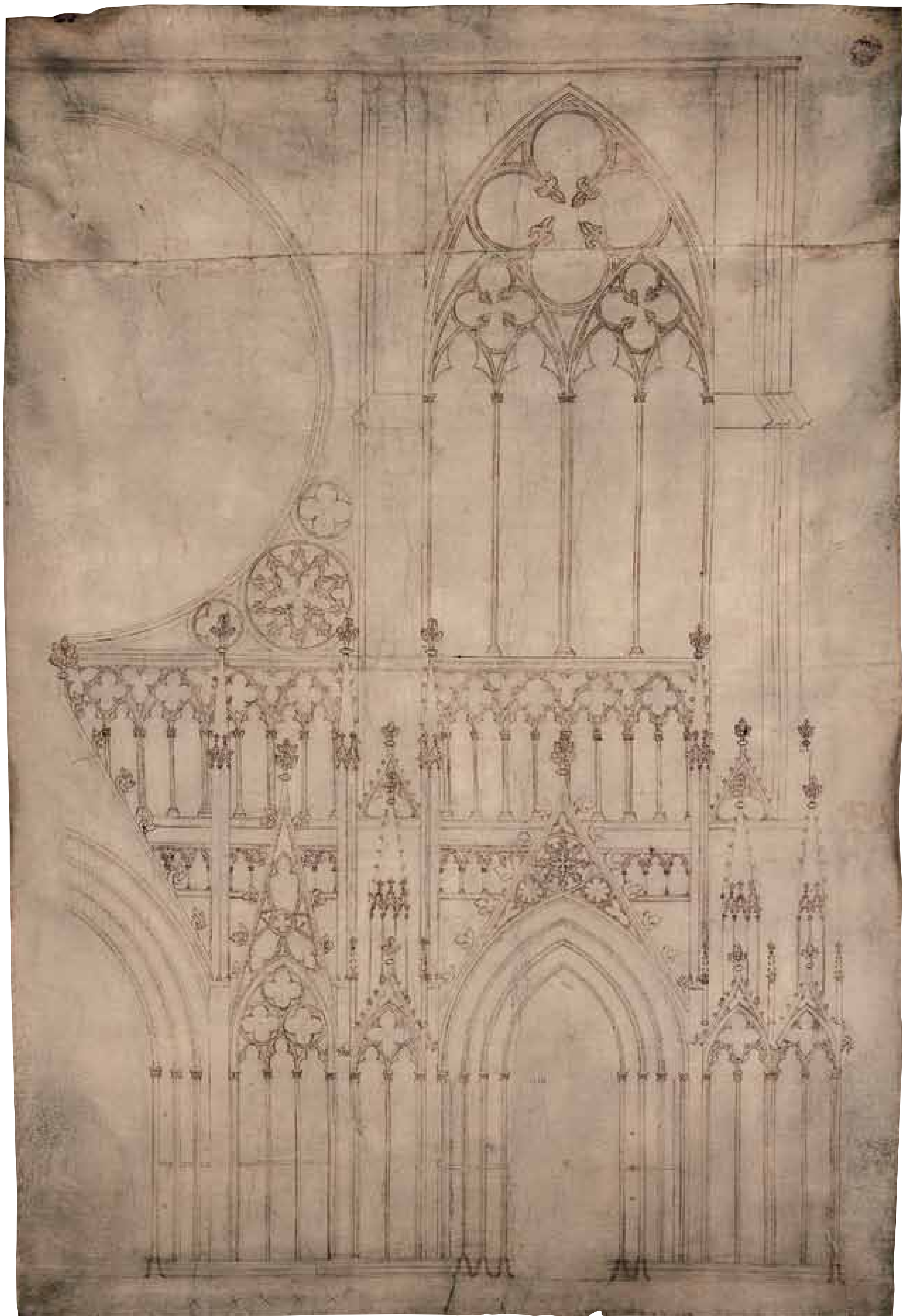


Fig. 38.1. Facade of Strasbourg Cathedral from the northwest

1. The dating of these two drawings remains unresolved. While most scholars accept the theory that Plan A served as the model for Plan A1, no consensus has been reached about the dating of either. For a succinct but informative summary of the ongoing debate, especially about the opposing views of Reinhard Liess and Reinhard Wortmann, see Frankl 2000, pp. 337–38, nn. 109A, 111. See also Bork 2006.
2. Although most scholars date the beginning of construction of the nave to the 1240s, Yves Gallet (2002, 2006) has argued that building did not start until 1250.
3. See Bork 2005 and Recht 1969, p. 29.
4. A number of full-scale architectural drawings incised into masonry that predated or are contemporary with the Strasbourg facade drawings have survived. See M. Davis 2002; Branner 1961; Shortell 2005.
5. For a useful survey of Gothic architectural drawings in general, see Recht 1995, pp. 21–56. Quote of Nicolas de Biard from Frisch 1971, p. 55.
6. Some of the primary documents are in Frisch 1971, pp. 51–61.
7. For a comprehensive survey of Villard's drawings, see Barnes forthcoming.
8. See Branner 1958 and Murray 1978.
9. For a complete catalogue of the collection of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, see Böker 2005.



Facade of Strasbourg Cathedral (Plan A1)

39. Drawing of Saint Martin in *De locis terrae sanctae* by Bede

Tournai, France, first quarter of 13th century
93 folios, 20.6 × 16.2 cm (8⅛ × 6⅜ in.)
Text: texts on biblical geography and names, including *Itinerarium de locis terrae sanctae,* traditionally attributed to Antoninus of Piacenza; *De locis terrae sanctae* and *Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum et Græcorum, in sacris scriptis* by Bede, in Latin
Decoration: 1 two-page drawing
The British Library, London, Additional MS 15219, fols. 11v–12r

Provenance: Saint-Martin, Tournai; British Library, London, 1841–45.

Selected Literature: H. Swarzenski 1935 (shelfmark incorrectly given as Add. MS 15216); H. Swarzenski 1954, pl. 233, fig. 546; Deuchler 1967, pp. 19, 146 n. 232, figs. 231–32; Evans 1969, pl. 45; Backhouse 1998, p. 63.

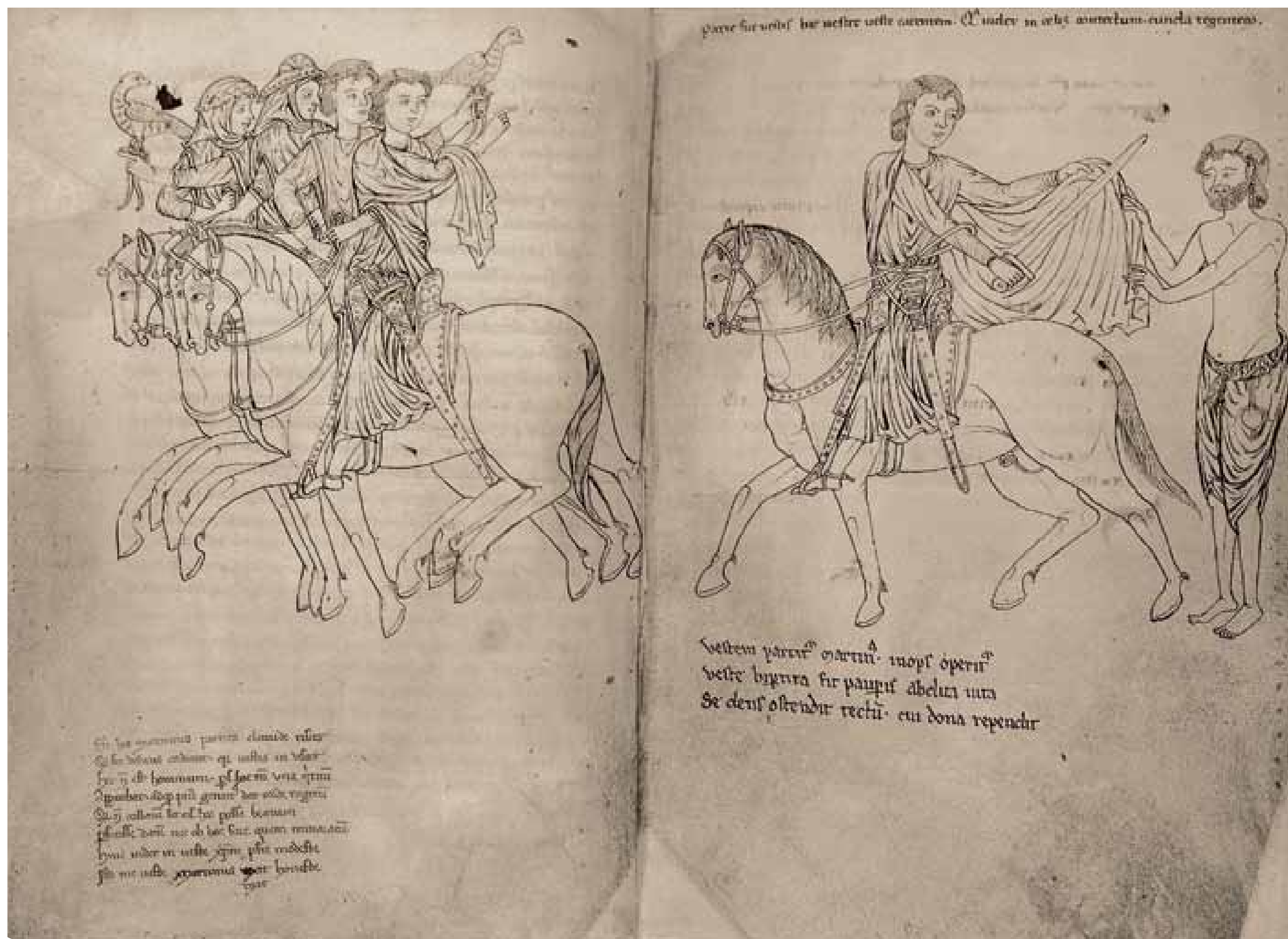
This intriguing two-page drawing of Saint Martin of Tours resides between two chapters of an unrelated text. The right side of the drawing shows the beloved French saint on horseback using his sword to cut off a piece of his cloak to give to a half-naked beggar. On the facing page appears a hunting party that includes two falconers. Though the scene of Martin sharing his cloak derives from a long iconographic tradition, setting the episode within the context of the noble pastime of falconry is unique and represents one of the earliest pictorial manifestations of Martin, a fourth-century bishop, cast as a medieval chivalric hero.[1]

The earliest biography of the saint, written shortly before his death in 397, recounts how Martin, then a member of the Roman imperial guard, divided his cloak in two and gave a part of it to a beggar at the city gate of Amiens on a cold evening.[2] That night, Jesus appeared to Martin in a dream, wearing the half-cloak the soldier had given the beggar and praising him for his generosity. Martin remained in the army for two years thereafter but was released from service after he refused to go into battle with any weapon other than a sign of the cross. He went on to pursue a holy life, founding a monastery in Gaul, becoming the bishop of Tours, and performing many good works and miraculous deeds. Within his own lifetime he was recognized as a holy man, and his tomb in Tours quickly became an important pilgrimage site. In France and across Europe his cult came to achieve extraordinary popularity.

The fourth-century *Life* makes clear that Martin enjoyed a respectable but hardly noble rank as the son of a military tribune stationed in one of the Roman provinces. As Martin's stature rose in the eyes of medieval pilgrims so too did his social status in the many written and visual accounts of his life that appeared in the Middle Ages. French royalty had, from the time of the Frankish king Clovis (ca. 466–511), shown a special allegiance to Martin, but by the thirteenth century, at least one poet assigned a royal pedigree to Martin himself.[3] By virtue of his affiliation with the Roman army, Martin came to exemplify the noble Christian knight—a somewhat curious turn of events given that his many biographies make much of his long opposition to military service. Martin is often shown on horseback in works of art, and starting in the twelfth century there appear scenes of his investiture.[4] In the Tournai drawing, however, his military affiliation is secondary to his status as a nobleman of leisure.

Further paleographic and codicological investigations may yield more information about the circumstances of the creation of this drawing. An ex libris at the beginning of the manuscript in which the drawing is found tells us that the book at one time belonged to the library of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Martin at Tournai, a house that would certainly have appreciated an image devoted to their patron saint. Though the drawing style finds no counterpart among the few manuscripts we can associate with the monastery, it exhibits parallels with metalwork and manuscripts produced in the decades on either side of the year 1200 in the region that is today northern France and southern Belgium. Mosan metalwork, manuscript paintings such as those in the Ingeborg Psalter (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 9, previously MS 1695), and the drawings of Villard d'Honnecourt (figs. 21, 22) indicate that draftsmen and metalworkers shared a graphic approach to figural representation that relied upon heavy contours and striated drapery defined by long hairpin loops.

Form and content align felicitously in this work. A style whose signature feature is richly patterned drapery is eminently well suited to a story that turns on the offer of a cloak. Indeed, the artist made much of the distinction between clothed and unclothed in the person of the beggar. His scrawny body merits only the most cursory outline—his chest and ribs are rendered with faint strokes of the pen; thick and insistent lines, by contrast, delineate the deeply recessed folds of his cinched breeches. Drapery here signals warmth and wealth, and costumes and accessories are depicted lavishly. The artist clearly enjoyed the play of textures that results from the juxtaposition of clothing with accessories such as bags, weapons, and riding gear. His cleverest feat in this respect is the placing of one costume element against another and making legible the distinctions among them. We marvel at the display of virtuosity visible in the rendering of the winding path of the cloth worn by the horseman at the front of the group. One end drapes over the arm that holds the reins, while the other end swoops over the shoulder and under the elbow of his free arm, to wrap around the forearm and finally hang down beneath his upraised arm, energizing the empty space. Even Martin himself benefits from



Fols. 11v–12r, Hunting party; Saint Martin of Tours

the artist's love of rich drapery. The meager dress described in early written accounts, the result of the holy man's eagerness to give away his clothing to the poor, finds no place in this artist's rendering.

The tight crisscrossing of one nobleman's arms contrasts unfavorably with the gracious openness of Martin's gesture—a visual detail that works together with the message of the inscription below the group of horsemen. The inscription, a series of couplets inspired by the early prose biography, describes the bystanders who laughed at Martin for his act of charity as well as one man who felt ashamed that he had not helped the beggar though he was in a better position than Martin to do so.[5] The drawing lauds the sainted knight at the same time that it chastises the tightfisted nobility. We wonder about the context of this unusual interpretation of Martin's story, particularly within the Tournai monastery, which by the end of the thirteenth century was one of the largest and wealthiest foundations of northeastern Europe.[6] Hanns Swarzenski, in the only significant study of this drawing, notes that the two pages likely never circulated independently, because the folio on the right, bearing the image of Martin and the beggar, is part of the same gathering as the text that follows.[7] If that is so, the drawing must never have been part of a larger cycle; it would, then, remain a singular interpretation of the Martin story, an instance of the draftsman's art used for iconographic experimentation.

MH

1. There is no definitive work on the medieval iconography of Saint Martin, perhaps because of its ubiquity and variety. One recent general work is Lőrincz 2001. The drawing of the riding party that accompanies Martin may derive from calendar images for the month of May. See Chamerlat 1986, pp. 82–102, for falconry imagery in the Middle Ages.
2. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*. For an English translation, see *Writings of Sulpicius Severus*, translated by Bernard Peebles, *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 7 (New York, 1949).
3. Peán Gatineau, a canon at Saint Martin's in Tours in *La Vie Monseignor Saint Martin de Tors*, which he wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century, describes him as the son of a Hungarian king named Florus, who lost his kingdom because of the betrayal of one of his vassals. See Deluz 1995, p. 613.
4. Hoch 1987.
5. Three inscriptions, in different, variously datable hands, appear on the two pages. The inscription below the riding party reads: *Est his Martinus partita*

clamide risus/Q[ui] sit delirus credunt./Q[uia] uestis in usus/Hec non est hominum./P[ar]s hoc t[ame]n una q[ui]ritu[m]/approbat./ Atq[ue] piu[m] gemit[us] dat corde rugitu[m] q[ui] n[on] collatu[m] sit eis hoc posse beatum p[er]fecisse datu[m], nec ob hoc fore quem minoratu[m]./Hinc uidet in ueste xpm[Christum] p[ro]f[err]e modeste ista me veste Martinus texit honeste. (They scoffed at Martin when he divided his cloak, because they thought he had lost his mind: "his worn out dress is not the mark of a man." One part of the group however approved of his deed. And someone sighing gave out a pious lament, distinguished from the rest, because he was unable to achieve what the saint had done, which would have been for him a smaller sacrifice [than for Martin]. Later he [Martin] sees Christ in the modest cloak, saying, "Martin clothed me in this worthy cloak.") The following line appears above Martin: *Parte sue uestis hic uestit veste carentum. Q[ui]a videt in celis contectum cuncta regentem.* (With a part of his cloak Martin dressed the one needing clothes. Because in the heavens he sees that he has covered the king.) And the three lines below him: *Vestem partit[ur] Martin[us].inops operit[ur]/ Veste bip[er]tita fit paup[er]is abdita uita./Se deus ostendit tectu[m]. cui dona rependit.* (Martin shares his cloak; the poor man is covered. With a half cloak, the poor man's life of misery is taken away. God reveals himself to be his protector. Whom God rewards with gifts.)

6. Haenens 1961.

7. H. Swarzenski 1935, p. 41.

40. *Fragment of Saint Eligius Roll*

Northern France, possibly Paris, or Picardy, possibly Noyon, mid-13th century
17.7 × 34 cm (6 15/16 × 13 3/8 in.)
Text: fragment of poem of Saint Eligius, in Latin
Decoration: full-page colored drawings
Musée Carnavalet, Paris, D.7075

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Saint-Eligius, Noyon, Picardy, at least until French Revolution, 1792; private residence, during which time it was cut apart; fragment entered Musée Carnavalet at unknown date.

SELECTED LITERATURE: Peigné-Delacourt n.d. (entire poem); Branner 1967; Paris 1968, cat. no. 228; "Paris de la Préhistoire au Moyen Âge," *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet,* nos. 1–2 (1990), fig. p. 94; Brussels 2007–8, cat. no. VII.4.



Fig. 40.1. Guthlac appears to Ethelbald, roundel 17, *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ca. 1210. British Library, London, Harley MS Roll Y.6, 8

The roll format was most frequently employed for illustrations of didactic texts and genealogical lists, such as those in Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium* (cat. no. 31). The present work is a fragment of a roll that depicts scenes from a saint's life, a much rarer use of the form. On the left the Merovingian saint Eligius stands before the Basilica of Saint-Martial in Paris, raising his hand in blessing as he saves the church from the fire engulfing it. To the right the saint appears again, standing in front of the tomb of Saint Denis and curing a crippled man whose arm he grasps. The elongated figure of the saint punctuates the two scenes, almost filling the height of the roll and dwarfing the architectural settings. The drawings are accomplished with enlivening touches of color and wash, particularly in the rendering of Eligius's vestments and the raging fire surrounding the basilica.

Eligius was especially beloved in medieval France, and his cult center in Noyon was an important pilgrimage destination for those seeking cures and the saint's blessing. The seventh-century saint's story was popularized by an early account of his deeds. Eligius's *Vita* was later reimagined in a thirteenth-century poem detailing the miracles and serendipitous events attributed to him during his lifetime and following his death.[1] The fragment shown here was once part of a much larger work, a roll that featured scenes from the saint's life, each of which included a series of large drawings with texts describing the events depicted. Although no other fragments of the roll survive, late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century drawings of



the cycle, recorded by the antiquarian Roger de Gagnières (1642–1715), portray Eligius working miracles, such as healing the sick, and preaching to crowds of laypeople and clergy.[2]

Notable in all these scenes is the marked monumentality of the figures and the careful detail of the architectural settings in which the stories unfold. The elegant style employed here has affinities with wider trends in Parisian court art in the thirteenth century, particularly during the reign of Louis IX (1226–70).[3] This sophisticated style appeared almost simultaneously in a variety of media, including painting, metalwork, and sculpture, largely created for courtly patrons in the cultural center of Paris. Characteristic of this style seen here are the exaggerated length of the swaying figures and the ample folds of drapery in which they are wrapped. Equally emblematic of this elegant court style are the delicate spires and spikes of architecture in the *opus francigenum*, so-called because of its genesis and immense popularity in central French lands. Not surprisingly, some scholars have suggested that sculptural programs, stained-glass painting, and even wall decorations were the source of the roll's illustrations. Others have proposed the reverse, that the drawings served as models for sculpture, stained glass, or frescoes, or that the roll may have been an elaborate presentation piece intended for an ambitious patron.[4]

Both the roll format and drawn illustrations of the Saint Eligius narrative seem deliberately to recall precodex manuscript traditions.[5] The Saint Eligius roll is related in both style and form to the near-contemporary English *Life of Saint Guthlac* (British Library, London, Harley MS Roll Y.6, 8), whose narrative is dominated by a series of roundels that resemble stained glass (fig. 40.1). Nigel Morgan has suggested that the roll format of the Guthlac cycle harkens back to an early roll written in Anglo-Saxon that documents the life of this English saint and was once housed at the library of Leominster Priory.[6] In another fourteenth-century example, from a cult center in Picardy, the roll format with drawings is used to illustrate the life of Saint Quentin (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS II.3189).[7] The artist responsible for the Saint Eligius fragment may similarly have evoked the antiquated format of a roll decorated with pen drawings to recall the ancient associations of the Merovingian saint's life, albeit framed in stylish, contemporary architectural settings. The completed roll may have been created for a patron decorating the walls or windows of a church, for a clergyman at Noyon seeking to aggrandize the prosperous cult center, or perhaps even for a pilgrim wishing to learn about the miracles realized under Saint Eligius's watchful protection.

EW

1. See Dado of Rouen, "Life of St. Eligius of Noyon," in Head 2001, pp. 137–67; for a thirteenth-century copy of the poem, see Peigné-Delacourt n.d.
2. Roger de Gagnières's copy is preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Gough Gagnières Drawings 16). Peigné-Delacourt n.d. also features extensive drawings of the entire cycle.
3. For further information on court style, see Branner 1965.
4. Brussels 2007–8, cat. no. VII.4.
5. Weitzmann 1970.
6. Morgan 1982–88, vol. 1, no. 22.
7. Branner 1967.

41. Matthew Paris (ca. 1200–1259), *Chronica majora*, vol. 1

Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240–53
vi + 141 + iii folios, 36.2 × 24.8 cm (14¼ × 9¾ in.), modern binding
Text: revised version of *Flores historiarum* by Roger Wendover, chronicler of Saint Albans Abbey (1231–36), with additions and emendations by Matthew Paris
Decoration: 8 pages of itineraries and maps; genealogical diagram and 4 pages of Easter tables and calendars; 29 tinted illustrations, 14 painted shields, 27 crowns, and 27 miters and crosiers in margins
Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, MS 26

Provenance: Given by Matthew Paris to Saint Albans Abbey; Edward Anglionby (1520–ca. 1587) of Balsall Temple; Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1504–1575); his bequest to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1575.

Selected Literature: James 1912, vol. 1, pp. 50–53; Vaughan 1958; Morgan 1982–88, vol. 1, no. 88; Caviness 1991; Lewis 1987; Corpus Christi website (digital facsimile and James description).

Though we have very few details regarding his life, Matthew Paris is the rare medieval draftsman we feel we can know, so prolific was his output and so distinctive his approach to images and to the texts they accompany. Over the course of twenty-five years, Matthew, monk and designated historian at Saint Albans Abbey, not far from London, wrote universal and local histories and saints' lives in Latin and Anglo-Norman, a number of them illustrated. Some dozen manuscripts with his drawings survive. This is an astonishing achievement, particularly given that Matthew frequently served as composer as well as scribe and artist, roles normally divided among monks at a monastery.

The *Chronica majora,* or Great Chronicles, is his most ambitious work. A universal history that begins with the Creation, it continues with entries of significant events noted year by year until 1259, when Matthew died. It contains as well an extensive and unprecedented cycle of marginal pictures, with rare exceptions executed by Matthew himself.[1] A massive work, the *Chronica majora* survives as three volumes, with more than 140 tinted illustrations, nearly 100 painted coats of arms, and more than 200 pictographs of crowns, swords, miters, and crosiers distributed in the margins. Roger of Wendover, Matthew's predecessor as the monastery historian, began the chronicle, and the present book, the first of the three volumes, contains a version of Roger's text penned by several of the scribes at Saint Albans.[2] Though Matthew did not compose or transcribe the main text, he nonetheless made the work his own. His presence is felt throughout in the form of textual emendations made in the margins, between the lines, over erasures, and even on pages added to the original folios. The manuscript makes clear that as he contributed new entries to the chronicle, he repeatedly returned to the earlier text, correcting and clarifying it and adding new information.

Integral to Matthew's campaign of improving the Wendover text are the array of drawings scattered in the margins. Discussed in Suzanne Lewis's exhaustive treatment of the images of the *Chronica*, the illustrations in the first volume range from doodled annotations that are almost lost amid the pen flourishes of initials signaling the beginning of each entry to full-blown compositions in color that spread majestically across the wide lower margins.[3] Many of the marginal drawings serve as place markers needed to help Matthew and other readers find their way through page after page of largely undifferentiated entries. Heraldic shields right side up or upside down designate the places in the text that recount, respectively, the ascension and death of kings. Likewise, a crosier oriented up or down indicates the beginning or end of the tenure of a significant abbot.

Other images respond to the flavor of the textual commentary. The legend of King Lear and his three daughters, which Shakespeare would later use as the basis for his play, appears early in the *Chronica* (fol. 6r, illustrated); Matthew appropriately provided the tale with a narrative illustration that conveys the dynamics of the story in the spacing and sequence of the figures. As the narrative moves from left to right, the figures increase in size and dramatic effect. Lear's squatting pose, quizzical gaze, and uncoordinated gestures convey his foolishness and a sense of the diminished stature he will soon suffer. Goneril and Regan echo each other's gestures, stretching their arms out toward Lear as they assure him of their abiding love; the two sisters, who will in time betray their father, are squeezed into the space beneath the left column of text. The principled Cordelia stands apart from the others, facing forward, arms upraised, a speaking scroll trailing from her hand. The woman who will triumph as Lear's successor at the end of the story is given room to stretch out in the expanse beneath the second column. The Lear drawing is a relatively simple sketch. Elsewhere in the volume there appears more ambitious work, more lavishly colored and with tighter compositions.

Matthew often focused on historical events of significance to the monastery. Thus, to the section on the Anglo-Saxon king Offa, who discovered Alban's relics and founded the abbey, he added a tinted image of that ruler (fols. 58v–59r, illustrated). On the page opposite, he supplied a pendant image, another tinted sketch, which offers historical background not found in the text. Moving several centuries back in time, this drawing portrays the death of Alban, the first British martyr, by the sword of a Roman soldier.

Matthew sometimes used his marginal illustrations to link one section of the text with other, related entries. Near the entry



Fol. viir, The Virgin and Christ Child; Christ Crucified; Christ in Majesty



Fol. 6r, King Lear and daughters



Fol. 140r, Saladin's capture of the True Cross

for the year 1187, almost at the end of the first volume, he created a stirring pictorial interpretation of Roger's written account of the capture of the True Cross by the Islamic leader Saladin during an epic battle waged in Jerusalem (fol. 140r, illustrated). With the bodies and body parts of the fallen strewn about, the crowned Saladin of Matthew's drawing seizes the arms of the cross from the left; his foe, the Christian leader, Count Guy, tries to hold onto the treasured relic, but his steadfast grip causes him to fall backward off his horse. This dynamic image, subtly tinted with blue and green, portraying a terrible defeat for the Christians at the hands of the infidels testifies to Matthew's ongoing preoccupation with the fate of the Holy Land and the Crusades. It also forms a link with Matthew's text and drawings in the second volume on the healing powers of the relics of the True Cross during the reign of Louis IX in the 1240s.

The first volume concludes with an extraordinary drawing different from all that precedes it (fol. viir, illustrated). On a single page appear three discrete images—the heads of the Virgin and Christ Child, of Christ crucified, and of Christ in majesty—each placed within a delineated compartment. As in the marginal sketches, a firm, uniform line defines contours, but here there are also lines of varying thickness and hue, the most delicate of which represent feathery wisps of hair barely discernible at the top of the crucified Christ's forehead. Colored washes give volume to the faces and necks and add luster to the jewels on the crown, collars, and halos while preserving the integrity of Matthew's graphic approach. These three images are far removed in tone, style, and scale from the marginal sketches scattered throughout the book. Their formality and high degree of finish relative to the other drawings represent an entirely new mode for Matthew. Moreover, this is Matthew's only full-page drawing without an accompanying text.

Curiously, in view of their refined execution, the heads were probably drawn on the back of a used piece of vellum. Just to the left of the vertical line that separates the two depictions of the adult Christ, there is a somewhat obtrusive rectangular patch. On the reverse of the sheet, which is the lighter and smoother of the two sides, that piece of vellum discreetly



Fols. 58v–59r, Saint Alban's martyrdom; discovery of Saint Alban's relics

patches a hole. Matthew drew an annotated map of the world on this surface of the sheet: when he looked for a blank surface for a new work, he must simply have turned this sheet over, camouflaging the patch by drawing over it.[4] Because the folio is clearly an insert, thematically and codicologically separate from the rest of the chronicle, Lewis has suggested that it once had an independent life within a portfolio Matthew kept of his own drawings. She has compiled a list of independent sketches, charts, and finished drawings that were bound as frontispieces or insertions in contemporary manuscripts, some by Matthew, others not. She convincingly argues that many of these works, including the present drawing of the three portrayals of Christ, depict works of art that Matthew saw.[5] Indeed, the main altar in the abbey church of Saint Albans bore a shrine with images of the Virgin and Child enthroned and the Crucifixion as well as a diptych showing a Crucifixion and a Christ in Majesty. That many gems adorn the three busts in Matthew's drawing supports this theory; as Matthew relates elsewhere, both pieces on the altar were made of precious metals and were the sort of objects that typically included gemstones. As Matthew's writing and drawing indicate, he was as interested in documenting works of art as in recording historical and contemporary events. Drawing clearly fueled the powers of description and observation he so tellingly deployed in both pictures and text.

MH

1. The few illustrated histories in England that predate Matthew's work have no more than a handful of images. See Lewis 1987, pp. 35–45.
2. For an English translation of Roger's text, see *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History,* 2 vols., translated by J. A. Giles (London, 1849; reprint, New York, 1968).
3. See Lewis 1987, esp. chap. 2, pp. 53–134.
4. The drawing of the heads was probably done on the hair side of the parchment, while the map was done on the flesh side, though it is often difficult to distinguish one surface from the other in the Matthew Paris volumes. My thanks to Suzanne Paul and the manuscript conservator, both at the Corpus Christi College Library, for their help in sorting out this matter.
5. Lewis 1987, pp. 422–24.

42. *Northumberland Bestiary*

Northumberland or northern England, ca. 1250
75 folios, 21 × 15.8 cm (8¼ × 6¼ in.), 19th-century binding
Text: account of Creation from *Imago Mundi*; excerpts from Genesis; excerpts *Etymologie*, by Isidore of Seville; bestiary
Decoration: 112 miniatures, all drawings washed with color
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 100

Provenance: Robert Turges, "gentilman," of Ruges Melcombe, Dorset, recorded in 1508/9 on fol. 73; Grace Fitzjames (d. 1725), Lewston, Dorset; passed through inheritance into library of dukes of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle and Syon House; purchased by anonymous collector at Sotheby's, London, December 1990; purchased by Getty Museum, May 2007.

Selected Literature: Millar 1958 (facsimile); Morgan 1982–88, vol. 2, no. 172 (with bibl.); Hassig 1995, *passim*; Yamamoto 2000, *passim*; Getty Museum website (online facsimile).

Few texts offered as many opportunities for illustration as the medieval bestiary, a type of book that enjoyed enormous popularity in France and England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A variable compendium of animal lore derived from antique and medieval sources, the bestiary provided descriptions of animals, domesticated and wild, real and familiar and utterly fantastic. Accounts of characteristic behaviors are coupled with moral lessons for the Christian reader. While not all bestiaries enjoy decoration, many—and certainly the most luxurious of them—offer a picture for each entry, providing readers with visualizations of the exotic and edifying creatures the texts describe. Some books rely on simple line drawings scattered through the text, while others offer a series of exquisite framed images, lavishly painted and amply embellished with gold leaf. With more than one hundred framed illustrations, each finely executed in the tinted line-drawing technique that found great favor among mid-thirteenth-century English book owners, the Northumberland Bestiary stands somewhere between these two poles. As one of the most accomplished of the drawn bestiaries, it emphatically reveals the ability of draftsmen to create deluxe decorative effects without the full array of deluxe materials.

These two pages give a sense of the kinds of illustrations—and the kinds of animals—that must have instructed and delighted their medieval audience. Using a format frequently found in bestiaries, a framed picture introduces the text that explains it. The image highlights the most distinctive features of the animal—either physical or behaviorial—while allegorical interpretations tend to be left to the text. On these two pages appear three different animals: a hyena, a hydrus, and a hydra. The image of the hyena centers on the animal's reputed habit of digging up graves to devour human corpses, which the text compares to the worship of dead idols by the lapsed Children of Israel (fol. 12v, illustrated). Memorable details include the hint of both male and female genitalia that marks the hyena as duplicitous and the rigid, serrated spine that prevents it from turning around with ease or grace. The picture of the hydrus reveals its ingenious method of killing its enemy, the crocodile (fol. 13r, illustrated). As the crocodile sleeps, the hydrus slips into its open mouth. When the crocodile awakens, it swallows the clever hydrus, which in turn eats its way out of the hard-skinned reptile, destroying the beast from within. The seeming paradox of a creature killing an adversary by appearing first to be killed by that enemy was a favored theme in bestiaries, which interpreted it as an analogy of Christ's defeat of death through death. Stressing neither death nor triumph, the hydrus picture does not particularly concern itself with this analogy but rather recalls the fanciful intertwined creatures that occupy manuscript margins or form elaborate initials. A symbol of excessive appetite and hypocrisy, the hydra, known from Greek myth, found in the image at bottom left, focuses on its extraordinary ability to grow three heads whenever a single head is cut off.

The Northumberland Bestiary shares textual and iconographic correspondences with a number of other bestiaries, of which its closest relative is an earlier manuscript now in the British Library, London (fig. 42.1).[1] A comparison of the two books underscores the exemplary accomplishments of each in terms of its own technique. The British Library manuscript dazzles the viewer with richly painted color and shimmering gold leaf, while the book from the Getty impresses us with its compositional clarity, luminous washes, and elaborate pen flourishes. In both, the animals depicted float above the frames and the space they define. The animals in the former manuscript,



Fig. 42.1. Hyena devouring a corpse, fol. 11v, Bestiary, England, probably Durham, ca. 1200–1210. British Library, London, Royal 12.C.XIX





Fols. 12v–13r, Hyena; Hydrus and Hydra

however, compete with their elaborate backdrops. Frames within frames, often embellished with stripes or decorative patterns, surround fields of punched gold. Although they do not contain the animals, the frames in the Northumberland Bestiary anchor them so they do not appear adrift in a sea of blank parchment. Thus it is the animals themselves that command the attention of the viewer. The artist marks out their contours with firm black outlines and creates subtle effects of modeling with washes of blue, green, and buff. Judicious applications of red provide visual punch. The initials in the text of the British Library manuscript bear only perfunctory decorative elements, but the artist or artists responsible for the Northumberland Bestiary took every opportunity to enhance their initials with bountiful red and blue pen flourishes, as epitomized in the trailing penwork that echoes and contrasts with the tail of the hydrus. The one manuscript relies on a concentrated splash of color and gold on each page; the other seeks a more muted effect, a balance of line and color that embraces both text and image.

The relationship between the two manuscripts is difficult to ascertain, as is the nature of bestiary production. Many bestiaries share iconography and texts, suggesting workshop practices that made use of exempla and patterns. What might have been the circumstances that prompted the production of a drawn copy of a painted manuscript? Although a large number of medieval English bestiaries survive (there are some forty extant), we know little about patterns of patronage. Most seem to emerge from a monastic context. Some scholars have, however, proposed royal patrons for certain later deluxe examples.[2] The rare inscription that appears in one sumptuous bestiary, now at the Morgan Library in New York (M 81), however, indicates it was given to the Augustinian house of Worksop Priory by a canon "for the edification of the brethren." Does the relatively modest Getty manuscript provide evidence of a workshop that catered to a patron with a limited pocketbook, while the more luxurious London volume speaks of a wealthier one? Or might the simplicity of the former be a matter of taste? Nigel Morgan has remarked that the Getty work is distinguished from contemporary bestiaries by its adherence to an earlier iconographic and textual tradition. Should we understand that tinted drawing, a technique that gained popularity in the first half of the thirteenth century, was used here to update an older model?

MH

1. See McCulloch 1960, pp. 33–34.

2. Muratova 1986; Baxter 1987.

43. *Dyson Perrins Apocalypse*

London?, England, 1260s
41 folios, 31.9 × 22.5 cm (12%16 × 8⅞ in.)
Text: prologue; excerpts of Apocalypse text; abbreviated commentary by Berengaudus, in Latin with gloss, some folios missing
Decoration: 82 half-page miniatures; historiated and ornamental initials
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ludwig. III 1 (83.MC.72)

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919); purchased by Charles Warner Dyson Perrins, 1906; purchased after Perrins's death by H. P. Kraus, 1959; purchased by Dr. Peter Ludwig, 1975; purchased with entire Ludwig manuscript collection by J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983.

SELECTED LITERATURE: James 1927 (facsimile); Henderson 1968, pp. 103–13; Morgan 1982–88, vol. 2, no. 124 (with bibl.); Lewis 1992a; Lewis 1995, *passim*; Getty Museum website (online facsimile).

The Apocalypse, Saint John's vision of the end of the world as recorded in the final book of the Christian Bible, held enormous fascination for thirteenth-century English patrons of the illuminated book. This manuscript bears witness to their passion.[1] Its elegant *mise-en-page,* subtle and sophisticated approach to line and color, and delicate rendering of faces and figures would seem to belie the horror and violence of its subject. Yet it is precisely this restraint, also embodied in the skillful play between frame and margin, painting and drawing, outline and colored wash, that gives this rendering of John's unsettling revelation its power.

Like most English Apocalypses, this image-laden book juxtaposes excerpts from the Bible with commentary from Berengaudus, a monk about whom we know nothing.[2] Each page is a self-sufficient unit, fully comprehensible in its layout: a biblical passage in black, with commentary in red, appears below a framed miniature that illustrates the passage. The frames around the illustrations impose a strict geometry on the entire page, thereby imparting particular significance to elements that wander beyond their parameters. John, the privileged seer of the final events—the speaker whose exclamations "I looked," "I heard," and "I saw" punctuate the biblical text—appears with notable frequency just outside the borders of the frames, peering into a window, a door, or a small hole to catch a glimpse of the awful and enigmatic events taking place within the frames and to cue the reader's reactions to them.[3]

These two pages treat two episodes in John's vision of seven angels sounding seven trumpets, with each heralding new cataclysm (Revelation 9:1–16). On the left page the blast of the fifth trumpet activates the fall of a star (fol. 13v, illustrated), which receives a key; the star uses that key to open the smoking pit of an abyss. Locusts, with bodies of armored horses and crowned human heads, emerge from the smoke, commanded by Abaddon, the angel-king of the abyss. These creatures will torture men who do not bear God's seal; so great will be the poor men's suffering that they will long for death, but they will not know its sweet relief. On the right page, the sixth trumpet sounds, signaling a voice to issue from a golden altar (fol. 14r, illustrated). The voice commands the trumpeting angel to release four other angels from their bondage in the Euphrates River so that they can pursue their task of slaying a third of humankind. Such are



Fol. 13v, Detail, the fifth trumpet





Fols. 13v–14r, the fifth trumpet; the sixth trumpet

the difficult and mysterious textual details that an artist charged with rendering the Apocalypse had to confront.

The dramatic increase in manuscripts on the Apocalypse in England in the mid-thirteenth century coincided with a revival of the long-established technique of tinted line drawing. In their renewed manifestation, as exemplified in the Getty Apocalypse, tinted drawings often display more delicate line than seen earlier; it is line that successfully evokes an array of textures, seen here in hair, wings, clouds, and smoke, as well as a mesmerizing collection of facial types and demeanors. Witness the grotesque faces of the locusts and their king, their monstrosity conveyed primarily via a thin, craggy outline. The artist responsible for these Apocalypse pages manifests a particular interest in the use of colored wash as a foil for line. Not only does he vary the opacity of the wash within each picture, but he also plays with its textural possibilities, capturing, for example, the ephemeral and menacing nature of smoke and the convoluted contours of the stony abyss.

In his discussion of the technique of tinted drawing in English Gothic manuscripts, Nigel Morgan has remarked upon the increasingly accomplished use during the thirteenth century of wash to convey modeling, wherein the color fades out as it moves away from the contours, allowing patches of blank parchment to serve as highlights.[4] The sophisticated deployment of undecorated parchment as a formal element even beyond its function as highlights is one of the hallmarks of this manuscript, perhaps nowhere better seen than in the episode of the sixth trumpet on the right page of this opening. There, a grand expanse of negative space occupies much of the picture, an eloquent evocation of the resounding blast of the trumpet. The contours of the empty space find an echo in the curved shape of John, whose twisted posture and tilted head suggest that he is pressing his ear, not his eye, to the peephole in the frame. In pointed contrast to the fully painted initials below, the relatively sparse drawing with its abundance of blank space transports the viewer to the otherworldly realm of the sights and sounds of divine revelation.

MH

1. For a brief overview of the influence of the Apocalypse in English literary and cultural history, see Szittya 1992.

2. For a discussion of the various commentaries found in English Apocalypse manuscripts during this period, see Lewis 1992b, which also includes a list of the twenty-two illustrated Apocalypses from thirteenth-century England. See also the remarks in Morgan 1982–88, vol. 2, pp. 16–19.

3. For a discussion of the various appearances of John in the margin of this manuscript, see Lewis 1992a.

4. Morgan 1982–88, vol. 1, p. 28.

44–46. Opicinus de Canistris (1296–ca. 1354), *Three Drawings*

In his evocative drawings and diagrams, the fourteenth-century Italian cleric Opicinus de Canistris reframed the relationship between the human body and the earth. His drawings seek to negotiate the spaces between classic medieval binaries: matter/spirit, visible/invisible, human/divine, and appearance/truth.[1] The formal language of these investigations is highly complex. In his two surviving pictorial projects from the 1330s and 1340s, both preserved in the Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 1993, usually called the Palatinus, and Vat. Lat. 6435, usually called the Vaticanus, he created two very different structures for visual communication. In one of these, the viewer looks through the actual shapes of the earth (copied from contemporary maps) into a symbolic dimension, where the continents confront each other in the form of allegorized human figures. This style of drawing appears primarily in the Vaticanus, and it makes the natural world the frame for the symbolic dimension within it (see fol. 61r, fig. 44–46.6.1). In the Palatinus he instead used complicated diagrammatic frames to *contain* images of the world or the Church, moving from abstract cosmology or theology at the edge of the page to the human world at the center. It is the latter mode we see in the two diagrammatic folios in this catalogue (see cat. nos. 45, 46) and also in fol. 20r (fig. 44–46.2). This play between center/periphery and visible/symbolic worlds is a central theme of Opicinus's work.

Several sources inform us about Opicinus's life; the Vaticanus contains extensive textual portions, expertly interpreted by the historian Victoria Morse, that give a sense of his thought and mission,[2] and a circular calendar drawn in the Palatinus manuscript conveys more practical information. Here Opicinus writes of his birth on December 24, 1296, near Pavia in Lombardy, to a family of merchants. Opicinus was singled out for the religious vocation at an early age. After his initial training, his family moved to Genoa, where Opicinus began to learn the arts of book illumination and cartography. The political conflict in Lombardy during Opicinus's early life deeply affected his later work, which focused on finding ways to transcend the bloody factionalism of earthly institutions: one of his solutions was to turn to an ahistorical, spiritual church—the church of the past, present, and future.[3] Opicinus was ordained in 1320 and preached in Pavia until 1328, when he abandoned his native city for good. He ultimately settled in Avignon, where he worked as a scribe in the Papal Curia and continued his theological study.

In 1334, while living in Avignon, Opicinus had an experience that changed the way he viewed himself and his mission, an experience that has dominated our understanding of him since his work was rediscovered in the 1920s by Richard Salomon.[4] Opicinus became very ill with strokelike symptoms; he lost the use of his right arm except for the function of making these drawings, which he claimed were carried out with God's physical assistance. Many scholars have interpreted his illness to have been part of a deeper psychological problem; one went so far as to diagnose him as schizophrenic.[5] Opicinus, however, had a different way of understanding what had happened to him: he believed it was part of a larger mission, sent in a vision from God. In this vision he saw natural geography translated into divine terms: the outline of contemporary sea charts became two human figures, personifications of Europe and Africa, with a third figure, a diabolical sea monster, often appearing between them. All of Opicinus's drawings were created in the aftermath of this illness and vision; in his artistic labor, he seems to have been working through the meaning of his vision to discover what it could tell him about the relation between the natural world and the divine. By structuring the imagery in unusual ways, constantly changing the identities of the figures and spaces, the hidden meaning of the natural world as a sign of divine revelation would be uncovered, a project he humbly referred to as "the fifth Gospel."

The particular drawings included here are all from the Palatinus manuscript, a set of fifty-two drawings on twenty-seven unbound sheets of parchment. The first drawing is an architectural rendering and thus anomalous in his oeuvre. In the two other drawings illustrated here, Opicinus visually schematized the world, the Church, and the individual. Their complexity and denseness, along with what we know of his illness, led some observers to characterize Opicinus as psychotic, but in fact there are a number of medieval precedents for such images. In them, we see the influence of medieval maps, including both *mappaemundi* (world maps) and the portolan charts that constituted the newest and most sophisticated cartography of the day. Other medieval traditions of diagramming, to which Opicinus, as a papal scribe, would frequently have been exposed, also affected him: ecclesiastical diagrams, genealogical tables, calendars, and zodiacal drawings all left their traces in his work. Especially influential were other diagrams that coordinated earthly, divine, and human spheres, such as the famous *Diagram of the Physical and Physiological Fours,* which Bede and other medieval scholars discussed. In some ways, Opicinus's drawings constitute a kind of end point for medieval versions of what Madeline Caviness has termed "Images of Divine Order."[6]

Opicinus's works clearly derive from medieval precedents, yet some of their elements anticipate later trends. One of these is the inclusion of the portolan charts, which constituted a new kind of spatial representation based on the actual measurement of the earth. By exploring theological questions within

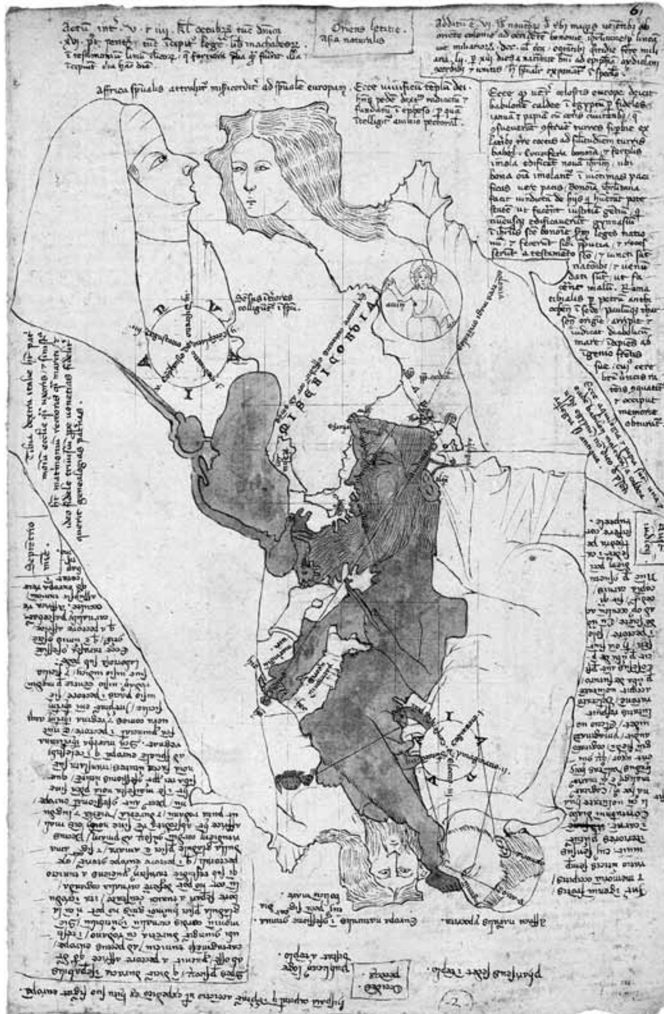


Fig. 44–46.1. Fol. 61r, map and text, Opicinus Codex by Opicinus of Canistris, Avignon, 1330s–40s. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 6435

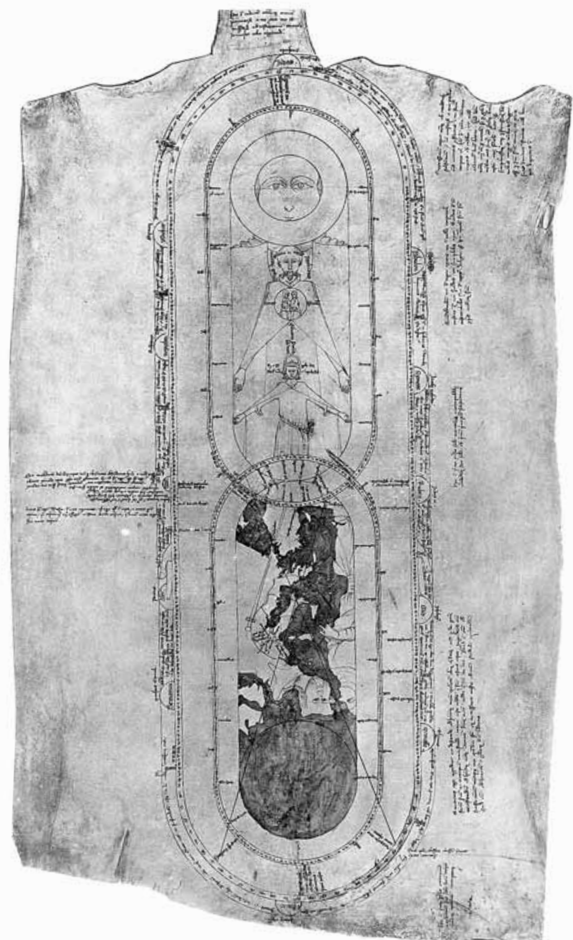


Fig. 44–46.2. Fol. 20r, zodiacal diagram, Opicinus Folios, by Opicinus of Canistris (cat. nos. 44, 45, 46), Avignon, 1330s–40s. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Pal. Lat. 1993

this calibrated, even empirical framework, Opicinus sought a new value of truth, attempting to find a way to reconcile new science with theological tradition while simultaneously seeing the potential of empirical observation to frame old questions in new ways. With his representations of the continents in human form, Opicinus also looked forward in his emphasis on the individual; his drawings anticipate the concept of man as the measure of all things. He used his own body and the bodies of others to relate to the cosmos, personalizing traditional macro-microcosmic conceptions. He believed in his own power to read signs of the divine in the shapes of the natural world, and in the significance of his own role within the universe. If macrocosmic, allegorized bodies could be aligned with the very forms of the earth, then his own body had the same potential for sin and for redemption.[7] For Opicinus, the path through these strange drawings was one that would lead him, and, he hoped, his beholders, to greater self-understanding. KW

1. Morse 1996, esp. pp. 33–35, 200, discusses Opicinus's drawings in terms of binary systems.
2. Ibid., esp. pp. 36–168.
3. Ibid., pp. 60–69 (on his childhood and youth) and 72–82 (on politics).
4. Salomon 1936.
5. Kris 1952, pp. 118–27.
6. Caviness 1983. For the opposite argument, that Opicinus's drawings sought to *destabilize* conceptions of the world, see Camille 1994.
7. Morse 1996, pp. 186–96.

44. *Cathedral of Pavia*, folio 2v

Avignon, France, 1335–50
Single leaf, 83 × 60.5 cm (32¹¹⁄₁₆ × 23¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Decoration: full-page drawings with annotations on recto and verso
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Pal. Lat. 1993

Provenance: Created at the papal court at Avignon, France; transferred to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Selected Literature: Salomon 1936; Kris 1952; Caviness 1983; Tozzi 1990; Camille 1994; Morse 1996; Roux and Laharie 1997; Harding 1998; Morse 2000; Roux 2005.

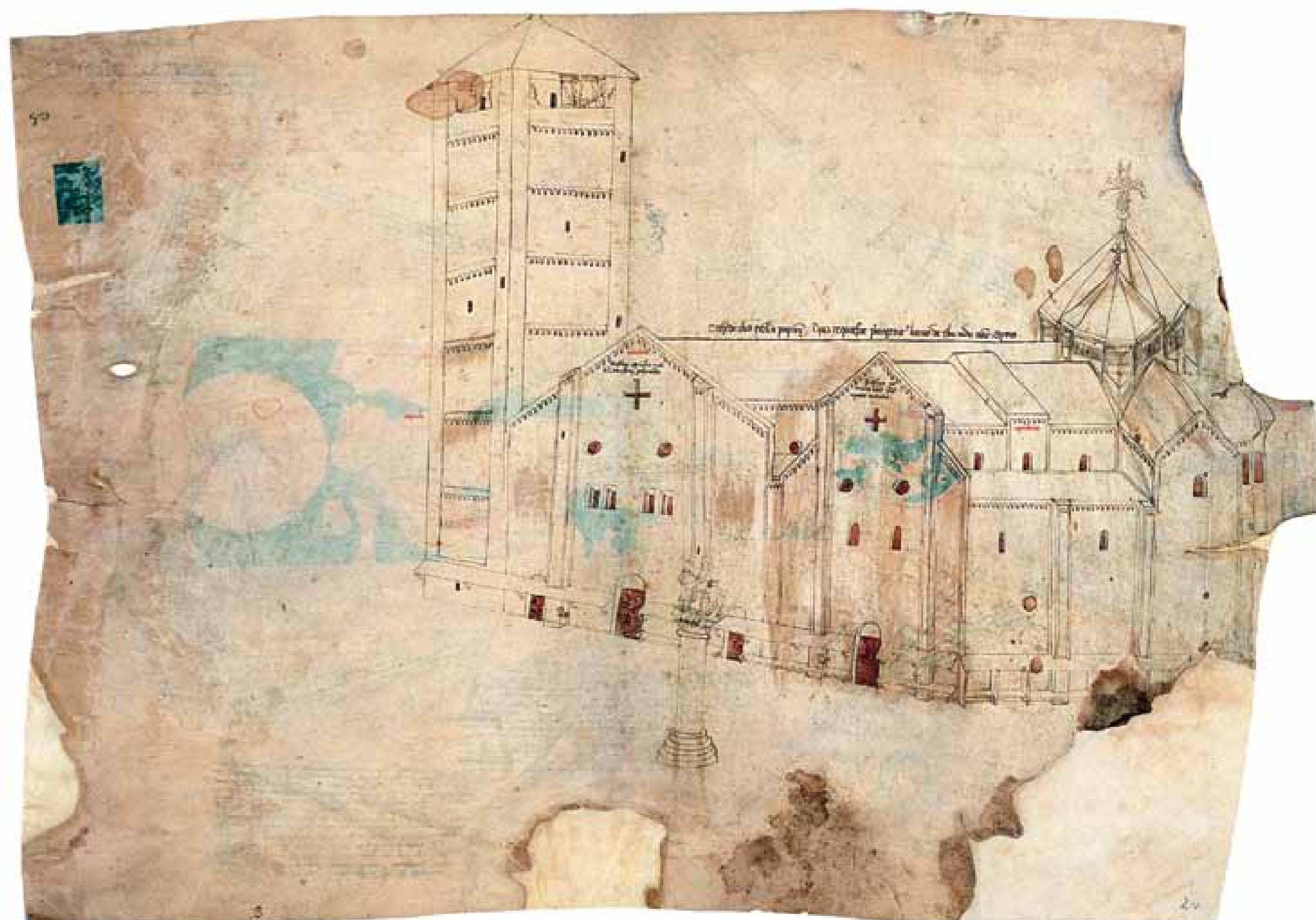
The now-destroyed double cathedral of Pavia, Opicinus's hometown, is the subject of this beautiful and unusual drawing.[1] The larger "summer church" of San Stefano on the left and the smaller "winter church" of Santa Maria on the right are drawn in ink, their doors and windows tinted with a light brown wash. Behind them stands the seven-story campanile, complete with bells in the upper story. All three structures are shown in a three-quarter view, allowing the maximum representation of the facades, naves, transepts, and towers. Before them is a large piazza, empty except for a single equestrian statue on a tall column.

This folio has been of interest to architectural historians because it provides a valuable record of the appearance of this double cathedral before it was destroyed in the fifteenth century to make way for the new cathedral erected in 1487 (some of the earlier building's remains reside in the Museo Civico Malaspina in Pavia). The old structures were dedicated to Saints Stephen and Mary; classic Italian Romanesque churches, they date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively. They were built to contain the second-century relics of Saint Syrus, Pavia's first bishop, who is referenced in the page's longest inscription, which runs along the roofline of San Stefano: *cathedralis ecclesia Papiensis in qua requiescit primogenitus leonis de tribu Iuda nominee Syrus* (the cathedral church of Pavia in which reposes Syrus, the first lion of the tribe of Judah).[2] The other long inscriptions, at the top of the pointed facades at the left, simply name each of the two churches. Their architectural features are for the most part unremarkable: they display the flat facades, narrow windows, small round oculi, and round-arched doorways common in the period. Opicinus's drawing slightly exaggerates the size of the transepts; archaeological studies suggest that they were little more than glorified side chapels, making the buildings essentially basilican in plan. The joining together of two churches was a persistent tradition in northern Italy from the fourth to the twelfth century, though relatively few examples of such joined structures survive intact.

All the buildings are drawn from a specific viewpoint. Opicinus trained as both a manuscript illuminator and a cartographer, and the latter experience would have taught him many of the geometric strategies necessary to create such a view of the buildings. The structures were outlined in pencil with a ruler and then drawn over in ink. The details were then filled in: scalloped cornices, windows and doors, and the occasional sculptural decoration. Opicinus's attempt at creating a realistic perspective is maintained in the details of the buildings; the shading of all the doors and windows in the facades and naves corresponds to a single viewpoint from the southwest corner of the piazza as it existed in the early fourteenth century. The small inscriptions in red identify the cardinal points; the churches are oriented with the apses toward the east in accordance with tradition. Such architectural drawings do not often survive from this period, though we assume that they were frequently produced by engineers, architects, and surveyors. A series of well-known architectural drawings by the thirteenth-century polymath Villard d'Honnecourt provides an interesting point of comparison with Opicinus's sheet. Their approach is similar, though Villard is thought to have had some training in engineering, while no such evidence exists for Opicinus.

The drawing is exceedingly unusual within Opicinus's oeuvre. It is the only folio in the Palatinus manuscript that does not contain a diagram, and it lacks an overarching structural element, usually an oval, shared by most of the others. Thus, despite its great beauty and impeccable draftsmanship, scholars of Opicinus's drawings often ignore this page because it does not seem to conform to the aims of his larger project. We might better understand this work by situating it in the context of several drawings from Opicinus's other illustrated manuscript, the Vaticanus. Though most of the drawings in the Vaticanus manuscript, like those in the Palatinus, are diagrammatic, it includes several examples that, like the present one, seem to have been done from life or that at least represent "real" objects found in the world.[3] One such example is Opicinus's sketch of two turtles on folio 52r of the Vaticanus manuscript, which demonstrates that he indeed had an interest in life drawing. We might also locate this architectural drawing within the context of Opicinus's concern with local landmarks and sites—some of his diagrams in the Vaticanus contain local maps of Pavia (fols. 84r, 84v, 85r), while others show tiny representations of churches similar to this one (for example, fol. 54r). Ultimately, however, this drawing of Pavia's double cathedral remains anomalous among his surviving works. KW

1. Richard Krautheimer, "Die Doppelkathedral in Pavia," in Salomon 1936, pp. 323–37, and Tozzi 1990, pp. 44–45.
2. Salomon 1936, pp. 152–54.
3. Morse 1996, p. 182.



45. *Diagram with Crucifixion*, folio 10r

Avignon, France, 1335–50
Single leaf, 106 × 60.5 cm (41¾ × 23¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Decoration: full-page drawings with annotations on recto and verso
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Pal. Lat. 1993

Provenance: Created at the papal court at Avignon, France; transferred to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Selected Literature: Salomon 1936; Kris 1952; Caviness 1983; Tozzi 1990; Camille 1994; Morse 1996; Roux and Laharie 1997; Harding 1998; Morse 2000; Roux 2005.

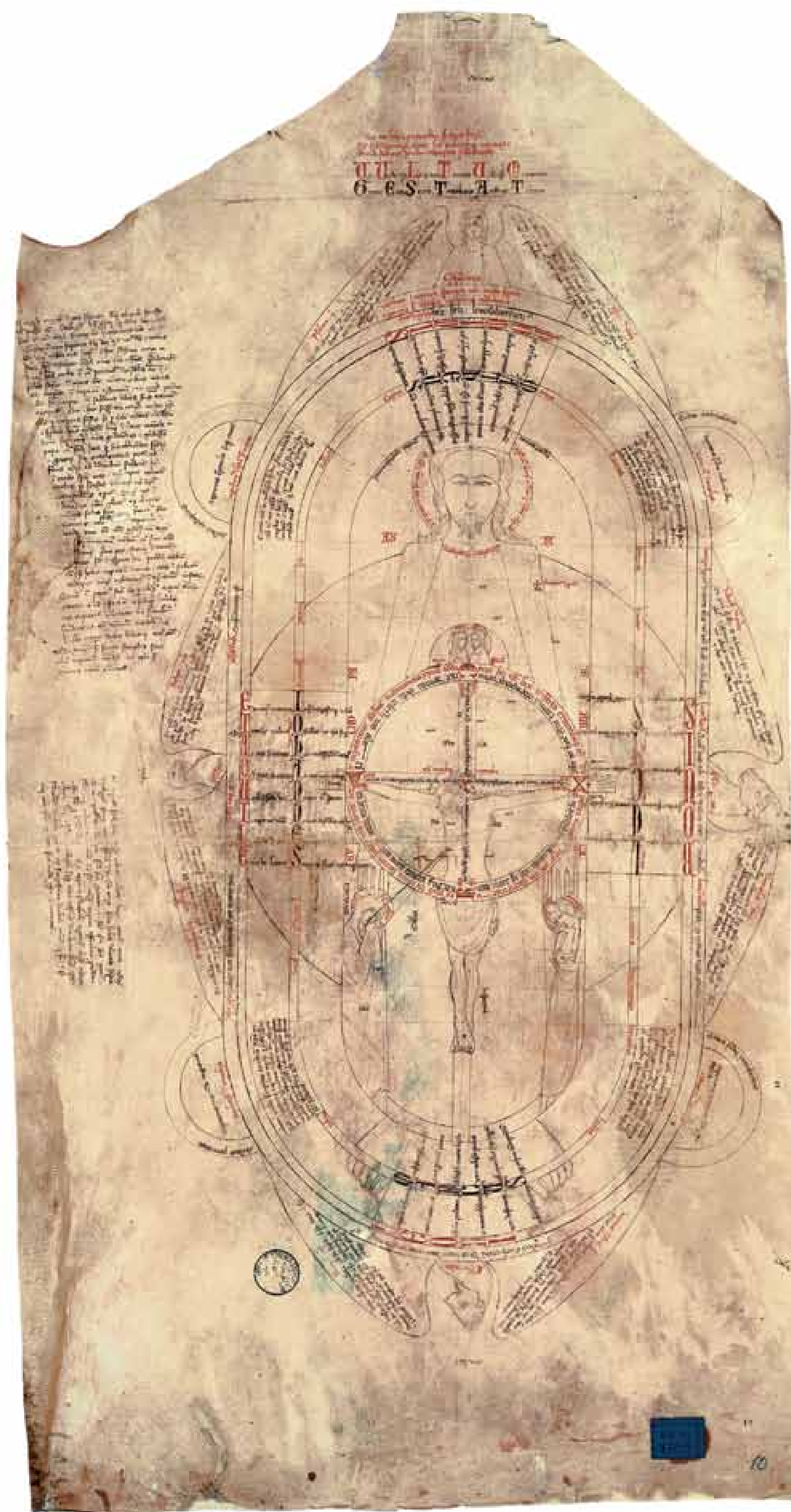
This drawing uses complex layers of image and text to create a single diagram of the earthly and spiritual Church.[1] Opicinus formed this ecclesiastical hierarchy with four main figures. Near the top of the page we see the largest of these, a male figure whose body and robe contain all the others. On either side of his halo, an inscription labels him *"incorruptibile regnum totius ecclesie,"* or incorruptible ruler of the whole Church. His robe falls outward, creating a circle that encompasses the three other figures: the crucified Christ, Mary, and John the Evangelist. The crucified figure is labeled *"Christi membra mortalia,"* or the mortal members of Christ, and Mary and John are identified as the sacramental and corporeal churches, respectively. Opicinus uses several different pictorial strategies to tie these figures into a specific spatial relationship. The hands of the encompassing figure reach down to lightly touch the heads of Mary and John, suggesting both the connection and the subordination of the sacramental and corporeal churches to the universal Church. Two small lines, one red and one green, connect the wound in Christ's side with Mary's mouth and hands, proclaiming Christ's body to be the source of the sacraments. The overall arrangement of the figures presents an obvious iconographic parallel: the "mercy seat" Trinity that was common throughout medieval Europe. In this type of image, God the Father holds in his lap a smaller figure of Christ, still attached to the cross. Opicinus combined this iconography with a traditional crucifixion, where Mary and John stand below the Cross, at either side. This hybrid representation was an ideal way of expressing the interrelations that Opicinus had worked out among the various parts of "the church," broadly conceived.

A complex diagrammatic frame typical of Opicinus's drawings surrounds this hierarchy. At the outer edge are the symbols of the four Evangelists, their wings spread to contain the series of ovals that in turn contain the human figures. Their wings are inscribed with passages from the Old Testament, and the half-circles between each set of wings contain short aphorisms written by each of the four doctors of the church—Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. Inside the ovals Opicinus revealed his love of wordplay: near each of the four Evangelists, he wrote a poem that uses the letters of his name and his animal symbol. Thus, at the top of the page we read the words *hominis matheus* written in large letters and a smaller series of texts that begin with each of these letters. The inscriptions and symbols of the other Evangelists are shown on the other sides of the oval. Another acronym at the top of the page creates the words *Vultum* and *Gestat*, and the arms of the cross at the center of the page bear letters that form the word *CRUX*.

This much can be read in an almost straightforward manner, but another layer of meaning complicates the image, changing it from an abstract diagram to a concrete, spatial one. Though it is not represented pictorially, inscriptions inside the circle formed by the cloak of the largest figure indicate that we are meant to read a map under, or perhaps on top of, the image. The three continents are labeled in large capital letters: *ASIA*, reading from left to right, written on the side of the largest figure's head, and *EUROPA* and *AFFRICA,* written vertically along either side of the cross. Smaller inscriptions indicate the location of specific countries; to point out just two: *Italia* on either side of the crucified figure and *Hispania* along his legs. This implied map relates the overall composition to earlier T-O *mappaemundi* in which a cross at the center of a circle divides the world into the three known continents. That Opicinus's whole map is contained within a body and structured by a smaller cruciform figure brings to mind numerous parallels such as the famous Ebstorf map and the smaller Psalter maps (British Library, London, MS Add. 28681).

Thus, Opicinus combines elements of three image types: a T-O map, the mercy-seat Trinity, and a typical fourteenth-century Giottesque Crucifixion. The sum of these parts is an imagistic diagram in which the artist aimed to visualize the connections between universal and particular. An additional feature of the image confirms this interpretation. One of the ovals that encloses the entire composition (the same one that contains the letters of the Evangelists' names) bears two sets of inscriptions. On the right side are written the twelve signs of the zodiac, and opposite them, on the left, are the twelve parts of the body, each paired with the zodiacal sign with which it was thought to correspond (from Aries and the head to Pisces and the feet). From ancient times, the zodiac had been a tool for uniting elements of microcosm and macrocosm, finding universal significance in earthly places, times, and bodies. This is what the whole drawing is about: the various bodies of the universal Church and their connections with human and divine history, and earthly and cosmic structure. KW

1. Morse 1996, pp. 264–66, and Salomon 1936, pp. 200–202.



46. *Diagram with Zodiac Symbols*, folio 24r

Avignon, France, 1335–50
Single leaf, 100 × 65.5 cm (39⅜ × 25¹³⁄₁₆ in.)
Decoration: full-page drawings with annotations on recto and verso
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Pal. Lat. 1993

Provenance: Created at the papal court at Avignon, France; transferred to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

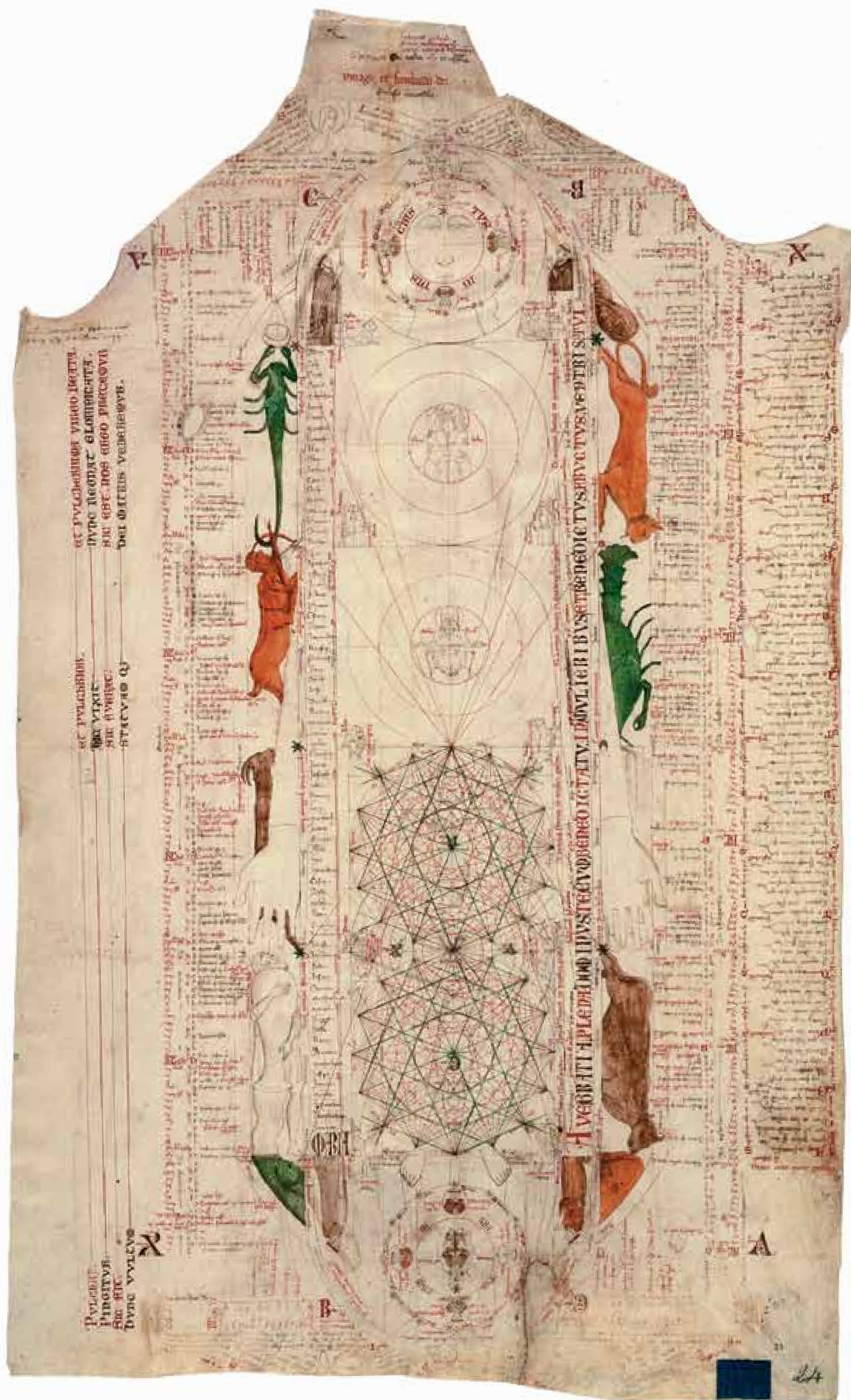
Selected Literature: Salomon 1936; Kris 1952; Caviness 1983; Tozzi 1990; Camille 1994; Morse 1996; Roux and Laharie 1997; Harding 1998; Morse 2000; Roux 2005.

This highly colorful and complicated folio coordinates a vast amount of information, far more than any of Opicinus's other drawings.[1] The drawing includes more than twenty separate sets of content: the major prophets, minor prophets, planets, two different sets of zodiac symbols, the doctors of the Church, four monastic orders and their founders, months, days, an implied world map, the genealogy of Mary, the Ave Maria, three personifications of the Church, two Crucifixions, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the four types of biblical exegesis, the four Evangelists, the apostles, and the names of the letters of Paul. To group all of these elements in a meaningful layout, Opicinus must have carefully planned this page, starting with the overall geometric structure and then filling in each set of information in its proper place. Like so many of his drawings, the primary frame is a long oval, inside of which are six circles. The circle at the top contains a face, presumably belonging to a giant body consisting of all six circles (in the Middle Ages the body was often characterized as six "heads" high).[2] This large figure is labeled *"imago et similitudo Dei, ecclesia universalis"* (image and likeness of God, the universal church). Like folio 10r, this folio shows a representation of the Church, but it differs from that page in its focus on Mary as the link between the cosmic and human spheres.

Several spatial hierarchies are built into the image. The first runs from top to bottom: the three circles at the top represent the heavenly Church, and the three at the bottom signify the earthly Church. The circle at the very top depicts the face of God as the universal Church, surrounded by tiny busts of the doctors of the Church. Below it is a circle enclosing depictions of Mary and Christ enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem, and below this is an image of the Madonna and Child carrying the label *"Ecclesia Spiritualis."* The face in the first circle corresponds to the body whose hands reach down and out into the elliptical zone of the large, colorful zodiacal animals. The signs of the zodiac, in turn, correspond to the rectangular calendar just outside them, which includes saints and feasts for nearly every day of the year, and to tiny representations of the planets, just to the inside of them. Thus, the outline of the large figure that contains all of the circles is physically meshed with a cosmic order that includes the calendar, the stars, and the planets. The three lower circles are images of the earthly Church. At the very bottom is another tiny picture of the Madonna and Child, this one labeled *"infantia ecclesie sacramentalis"* (infancy of the sacramental church). Two of these lower circles contain the large wind rose of contemporary portolan sea charts. The space of the earth is not delineated in these circles, but they bear a network of lines (called rhumb lines) that are ubiquitous within Opicinus's work and are always associated with maps, so we can assume that a map is implicit. Inside the lines are three figures. Two images of Christ crucified are opposite each other, arranged toe to toe, his four feet at the meeting point of the two circles. The large figure at the top, whose head droops to the side in death, is inscribed *"Christus mortus,"* while the figure at the bottom with an upright body is *"Christus triumphans."* At the apex of the top circle is the head of the third figure, labeled *"filius hominis"* (son of man); his feet emerge from the bottom of the second circle, below the head of the triumphant Christ crucified. This complex arrangement suggests that Christ's birth, death, and triumph within the physical space of the earth are the heart of the earthly Church and the sacraments.

To show that Mary is the link that connects the spiritual with the earthly in this drawing, Opicinus placed tiny drawings of the Madonna and Child in both the spiritual top of the drawing and the earthly bottom. Furthermore, two sets of Marian text connect the inner space of the circles representing the Church with the outer, cosmic sphere. Running in two vertical columns between the circles and the large zodiac animals are the text of the genealogy of Mary on the left and the text of the Ave Maria in capital letters on the right. These inscriptions constitute a physical bridge between the ecclesiastical and cosmic spheres in the diagram, a spatial concept that is aligned with Mary's theological role as the link between God the father and Christ the son. Many of the other spatial connections in the drawing remain elusive, but Opicinus clearly intended this drawing to be complicated, and to require extensive probing and exegesis. The exact points of connection between all of these cosmic, theological, temporal, and historical spheres require further study. Opicinus's image, like earlier medieval diagrams that sought to align the cosmic, the earthly, and the bodily (such as Bede's famous "diagram of the fours"), seems to have been created to probe these connections, not to illustrate them in a finite representation. The very forms that he chose, primarily ovals and circles, encourage the imaginary rotation and movement of the various spheres, allowing continuous points of connection between the earthly and the divine. KW

1. Salomon 1936, pp. 277–82, and Morse 1996, pp. 256–63.
2. Morse 1996, pp. 260–61.



47. *Windmill Psalter*

East Anglia, England, late 13th century
167 + i folios, 32 × 21.5 cm (12⅝ × 8 7⁄16 in.), 19th-century binding
Text: psalms, canticles, and a portion of the litany
Decoration: 1 full-page Beatus initial; 1 half-page letter *E*; 9 large historiated initials; extensive penwork throughout
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M. 102

Provenance: Purchased by H. H. Gibbs, first baron Aldenham, ca. 1860; purchased by William Morris, July 6, 1896; purchased from Morris's estate by Richard Bennett, 1897; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) with Bennett Collection, 1902; J. P. Morgan (1867–1943).

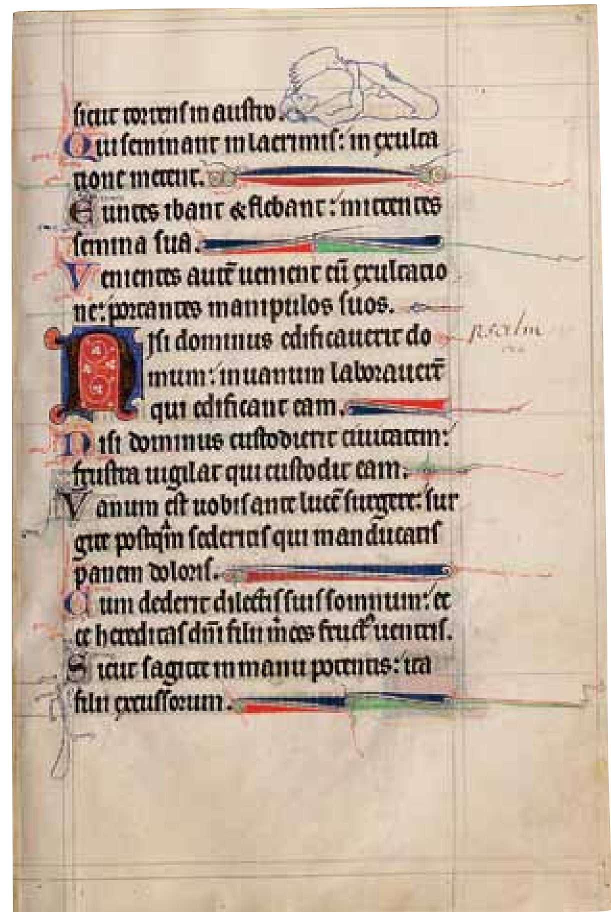
Selected Literature: Alexander 1978a, pp. 98–99, pl. 30; Bennett 1980; Calkins 1983, pp. 214–25, 302; Sandler 1986, vol. 2, no. 4 (with bibl.); London 1987–88, cat. no. 358; Büttner 2004; Morgan Library website.

Penwork of astonishing intricacy provides a gossamer backdrop for a painted depiction of the Judgment of Solomon on this initial page from a deluxe psalter (fol. 2r, illustrated). The first letter of *Beatus* (blessed), the first word of the first verse of the psalms, regularly provided the medieval artist an opportunity for ornamentation (fol. 1v, illustrated), but in this psalter, in an extraordinary protraction of the word, the artist has embellished the second letter as well. The red and blue pen flourishes that are familiar in less ostentatious settings—as a minor decorative touch in humbler manuscripts or on later pages in a more luxurious volume—assume unusual prominence in and around the letter *e*. Penwork takes over half the page and interacts with the painted details to create ingenious spatial effects.

The *E* initial page depicts a story often used for the decoration of Psalm 1. The godly counsel that is followed by the blessed man described in the first psalm evoked for medieval readers the wisdom of Solomon. On this page King Solomon is shown with legs crossed, enthroned upon the crossbar of the *E*. Before him appear the two women claiming to be mothers and a soldier, his



Fol. 1v, Initial *B* with Tree of Jesse

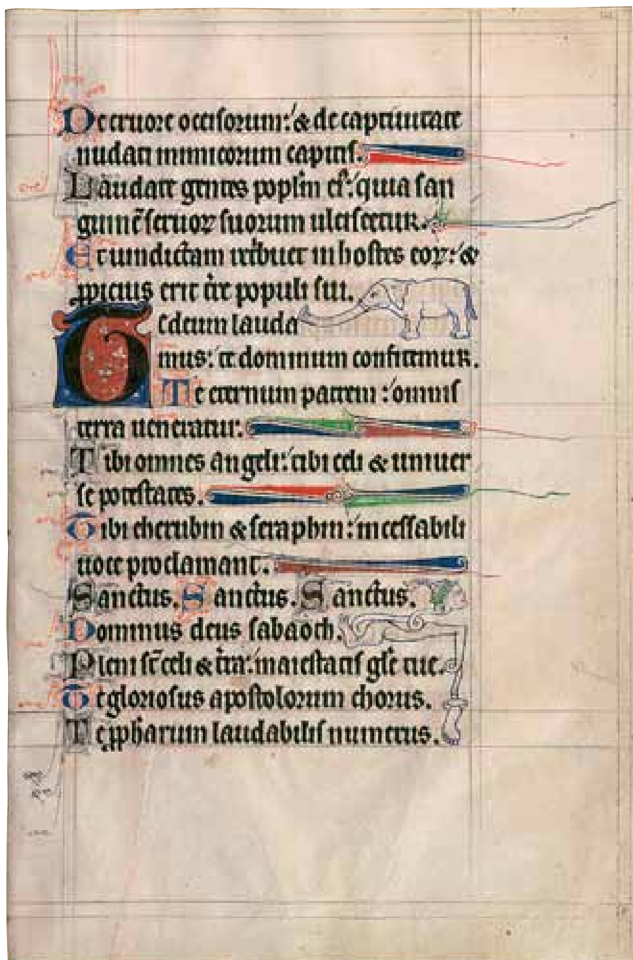


Fol. 136r, Text page with line filler of man eating his foot



in consilio impiorum: & in uia pec
catorum non stetit: & in cathedra pe
stilencie non sedit.
Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius:
& in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.
Et erit tanquam lignum qd plan
tatum est secus decursus aquarū:

Fol. 2r, Initial *E* with Judgment of Solomon and windmill



Fol. 162r, Text page with elephant

sword unsheathed in preparation for the division of the disputed child. The windmill that gives the psalter its modern appellation stands above Solomon, while below him an angel swoops down dramatically. The angel's foreshortened pose and direct gaze invite the viewer to read the scroll in his hand, which bears in gold letters the continuation of the verse begun by the two outsized initials.

The combined use of opaque paint, colored wash, and penwork creates what Jonathan Alexander has aptly termed "transparent layered space": the painted figures overlap the painted initial, which in turn rests atop the penned decoration accented with colored wash.[1] The delicate network of pen flourishes produces a mesmerizing botanical maze, where leafy vines emerge from the spaces around and between dense lines of cross-hatching. Outside the confines of the letter, the filigree opens up, evaporating into wispy tendrils at its outermost edges. Without compromising the legibility of the various spatial layers, the drawn flourishes respond to the silhouettes of the painted elements. The curling extensions of the initial seem to guide the sinuous course of certain vines. Undulating leaves felicitously insert themselves into the nooks and crannies created by the contours of the figures. Note how the spiral of one vine adjusts to the ovoid shape created by the left wing and outstretched body of the angel. An elongated arabesque behind the woman opposite Solomon mimics her elegant sway, while a tight curlicue behind the other woman underscores the energy of her gesture. As Alexander has noted, penwork is normally the province of a specialized craftsman, but its masterly integration on this page suggests that the whole composition is the work of a single artist, equally accomplished in the use of brush and pen.

The two initial pages introduce a series of nine less elaborate but finely rendered painted initials that mark the liturgical divisions of the psalms, as well as a profusion of inventive pen designs that appear throughout the book. On page after page, the first letter of each verse occasions a pen flourish. Decoration abounds as well in the spaces left at the end of lines of text: there we see abstract patterns, animals, grotesques, even entire narrative scenes done in miniature, all squeezed within the irregular spaces left over by the blocks of text (fols. 136r, 162r, illustrated). These whimsical forms herald the proliferation of marginalia that occurs in manuscripts of the fourteenth century.

The identity of the tasteful patron of this exceptionally refined manuscript remains a mystery. The book is missing its calendar and most of the litany, which might have provided clues to its date and provenance. Some scholars propose that the windmill and the emphasis on the *E* afforded by the double-page initial are clues to the original owner's name.[2] The figure style, iconography, and to some extent the penwork find parallels in a psalter-hours formerly in the Mostyn Hall Library, Wales.[3] The calendar in the Mostyn Psalter suggests a provenance in the diocese of London, a tidbit that helps to justify the traditional association of the Windmill Psalter with the English Court School, which includes a number of manuscripts linked to London.[4]

MH

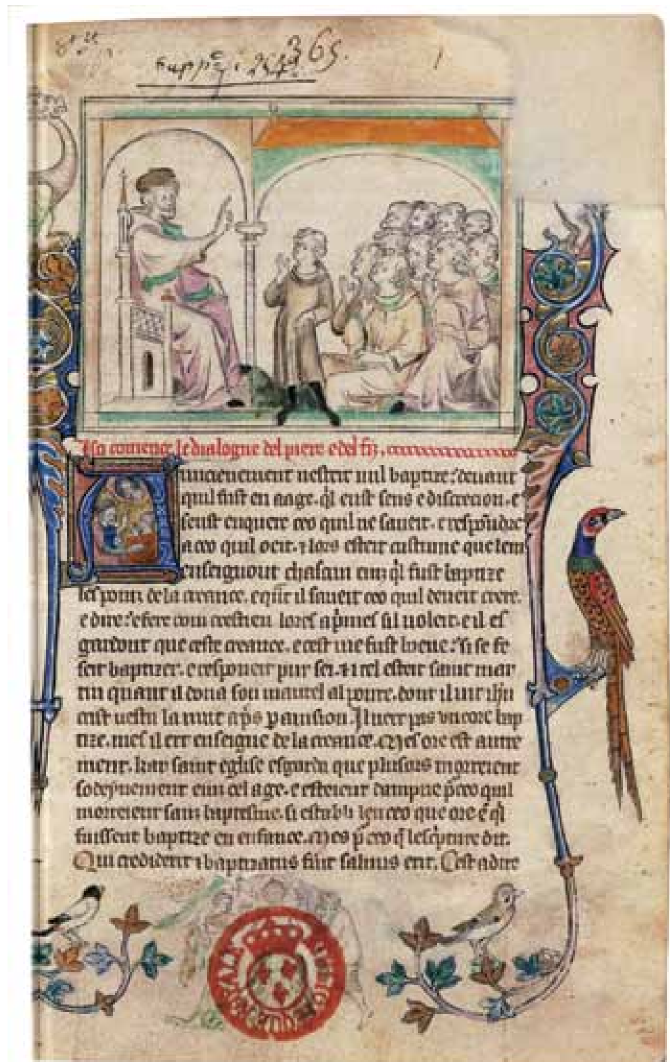
1. Alexander 1978a, p. 98.
2. Bennett 1980 has theorized that the *e* is one of several features that suggest the patron was Edward I.
3. Sandler 1986, vol. 2, no. 5.
4. Several manuscripts that share the style of the Windmill Psalter are associated with London; see ibid., vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

48. *Devotional Compendium*

England, perhaps London, first quarter of 14th century
53 folios, 20.5 × 13 cm (8 1/16 × 5 1/8 in.), 19th-century binding
Text: *Dialogue del piere et del filz* (incomplete); *Mirour de seinte eglyse* (translation of *Speculum ecclesiae* by Saint Edmund of Abingdon); instructions for the Mass; Psalter of Saint Jerome; prayers, in Anglo-Norman and Latin
Decoration: 15 miniatures, of which 2 are executed in semigrisaille; historiated and ornamental initials; *bas-de-page* drolleries
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Fr. 13342

Provenance: Jean Jacques Huet, 18th century; Bibliothèque Royale (now Bibliothèque Nationale de France), after 1730.

Selected Literature: Wormald 1966–68; Oxford 1984, cat. no. 244; Dennison 1986; Sandler 1986, vol. 2, no. 58; Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pp. 143–45; London 1987–88, pp. 453–54; Schmitt 1990, pp. 289–355; Oliver 1999, pp. 159, 164; Stanton 2001, pp. 20, 57, 80, 196, 198 n. 14; Barasch 2003; Binski 2004, pp. 197–201; Kumler 2007, pp. 412–63.



Fol. 1r, Dialogue between a father and son

This work is one component of a manuscript produced in England, likely in London, in the mid-1320s. Two fragments of the original manuscript have been identified: the present, Paris volume and Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 79. In its original state the manuscript from which they derive was a deluxe compendium of texts suitable for the spiritual formation of a layperson, embellished with four full-page images, a series of fifteen large miniatures, a full complement of inhabited and decorated initials (thirty-seven in all), as well as marginal drolleries and foliate borders.

In its fourteen folios, the Bodleian fragment contains four full-page miniatures depicting the Annunciation, the Nativity, Mary's Assumption, and her Coronation. Folios 4r to 13v preserve an unidentified (and incomplete) Anglo-Norman text treating the lives of Adam, Eve, and Solomon, coupled with an account of the Passion and the True Cross. The Paris fragment consists of fifty-three folios with six texts: the Anglo-Norman *Dialogue del piere et del filz,* now incomplete (fols. 1–27v); the Anglo-Norman *Mirour de seinte eglyse*, a translation of Saint Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum ecclesiae* (fols. 28–44v); a vernacular Mass tract composed of texts and images (fols. 45–48v); the Latin Psalter of Saint Jerome (fols. 49–51v); and two Christocentric Latin prayers (fol. 52r).

The illumination of both fragments of the manuscript is the work of members of the Queen Mary Psalter group, the preeminent English illuminators of the early fourteenth century. Indeed, the miniatures in the Oxford-Paris fragments have been attributed specifically to the hand of the Queen Mary Psalter Master himself. The inhabited initial and the foliate border painted on the first text folio of the Psalter of Saint Jerome (fol. 49r) are the work of the Ancient 6 Master, a collaborator of the Queen Mary Psalter Master.

Both the *Dialogue* and the *Mirour* are prefaced by large framed miniatures, executed in semigrisaille, touched with colored washes. The two prefatory miniatures are compositional pendants: the image introducing the *Dialogue* (fol. 1r, illustrated) represents a father seated before a crowd of youths, addressing one young man who stands before him. The painting that precedes the *Mirour* (fol. 28r, illustrated) presents an ecclesiastical variant on this pedagogic theme: Saint Edmund of Abingdon seated before a mixed crowd composed of older men, tonsured male figures, youths, and at least two women in wimples. The archbishop's pastoral instruction complements the paternal pedagogy pictured in the previous miniature. In the initial below



Fol. 28r, Saint Edmund preaching to a crowd

the scene with Edmund, the saint is pictured for a second time, directing his companion's attention to the figure of the deity in the initial's upper compartment. Both miniature and initial stress Edmund of Abingdon's role as a teacher and visually celebrate the saint as an exemplar of pastoral excellence, emphases appropriate to the start of the text of his didactic *Mirour*.

The delicate rendering of the figural groupings is characteristic of the Queen Mary Psalter Master's work. On the opening page of the *Mirour* the fine semigrisaille miniature contrasts with the fully painted border that surrounds the text block. Grisaille is used selectively within the manuscript's visual program, its delicate modeling effects reserved for certain areas of emphasis, such as the miniatures that preface the *Dialogue* and the *Mirour* and the body of the crucified Christ within the illustrated Mass tract. Continuing and updating an English tradition of combining drawing and wash technique, the Queen Mary Psalter Master's subtly colored grisaille is a tour de force. Linear finesse together with modulated tonal effects produce paintings that make adept use of the reserved parchment ground and softly assert their presence in opening after opening.

AK

49. Jean Pucelle (active ca. 1320–34), *The Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*

Paris, France, 1324–28
209 folios, 8.9 × 6.2 cm (3½ × 2 7/16 in.), modern binding
Text: calendar; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of Saint Louis; penitential psalms
Decoration: 48 miniatures; nearly 700 marginal illustrations, most executed in grisaille
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

Provenance: Jeanne d'Evreux, queen of France, by 1328–71; King Charles V of France, 1371–80; Jean, duc de Berry, described in his inventories beginning in 1401–16; Louis-Jules de Châtelet and Christine de Gleseneuve (1618–1672); Adolphe de Rothschild (1823–1900); Julie de Rothschild, 1900–1907; Maurice Edmond de Rothschild, by 1909; confiscated by the Nazis, 1940; recovered at Neuschwanstein, 1945, restituted, 1948; acquired by The Cloisters Collection, 1954.

Selected Literature: Morand 1961; Morand 1962; Randall 1972; Caviness 1993; Holladay 1994; Boehm et al. 2000; De Hamel 2005, pp. 7, 34, 37, 42–46.

This lavishly illustrated book of hours, or prayer book, was created between 1324 and 1328 for Jeanne d'Evreux, queen of France, by the celebrated Parisian illuminator Jean Pucelle. It was intended for the queen's use during solitary prayer throughout the course of the day. The 209 folios include twenty-five full-page paintings with paired images representing the Infancy and Passion of Christ (illustrated) and scenes of the life of Saint Louis (illustrated). In the margins, close to seven hundred illustrations depict the bishops, beggars, dancers, maidens, and musicians who peopled the streets of medieval Paris, as well as apes, rabbits, dogs, and creatures of sheer fantasy. All are brought to life through the keen observation, accomplished draftsmanship, and consummate imagination of the artist.

When the *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* was included in the inventory of the lauded bibliophile Jean, duke of Berry (1340–1416), the first notations entered concerned two distinguishing features of the manuscript: that it was known as the "Heures de Pucelle," and that it was "enluminé de blanc et noir." Today, no less than at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the use of black and white in the decoration of the manuscript seems remarkable, a feature that has occasioned considerable discussion in scholarly literature.[1] For the illumination of a queen's prayer book, today's viewer might reasonably anticipate the appearance of rich color and the lavish use of gold and possibly silver. The illumination of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, however, simply does not conform to expectation. Nowhere is there even a hint of gold or silver, and there is limited use of color.

The figures in the miniatures are predominantly rendered in grisaille—that is, in subtle shades of gray and brown—and with a quill as well as a brush.[2] By this means, Pucelle effectively suggests light and shade as it defines figures and drapery. Most of the images are set within monochrome, penwork frames. The majority of the figures in the margins are executed entirely in grisaille. Yet color is not altogether disdained in the manuscript. Rather, it is used as accents for figures and scenery in the miniatures, in the marginal figures on the principal openings, and in backdrops against which figures are placed.

In several important respects, the rendering of the figures in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* represents a logical development of Parisian manuscript illumination of the generation before Pucelle.[3] The accomplished and delicate use of line, with only the slightest touches of color to render facial features and hair, is characteristic of Parisian illumination from the thirteenth century. A similar aesthetic informs other contemporary media, notably alabaster sculpture and ivory.[4] Indeed, the canescent quality of figures drawn against the ecru-colored parchment of the *Hours*



Bifolio: fol. 154v, Saint Louis receives his psalter; fol. 153r, drolleries

of Jeanne d'Evreux is especially reminiscent of alabaster and of ivory carving.

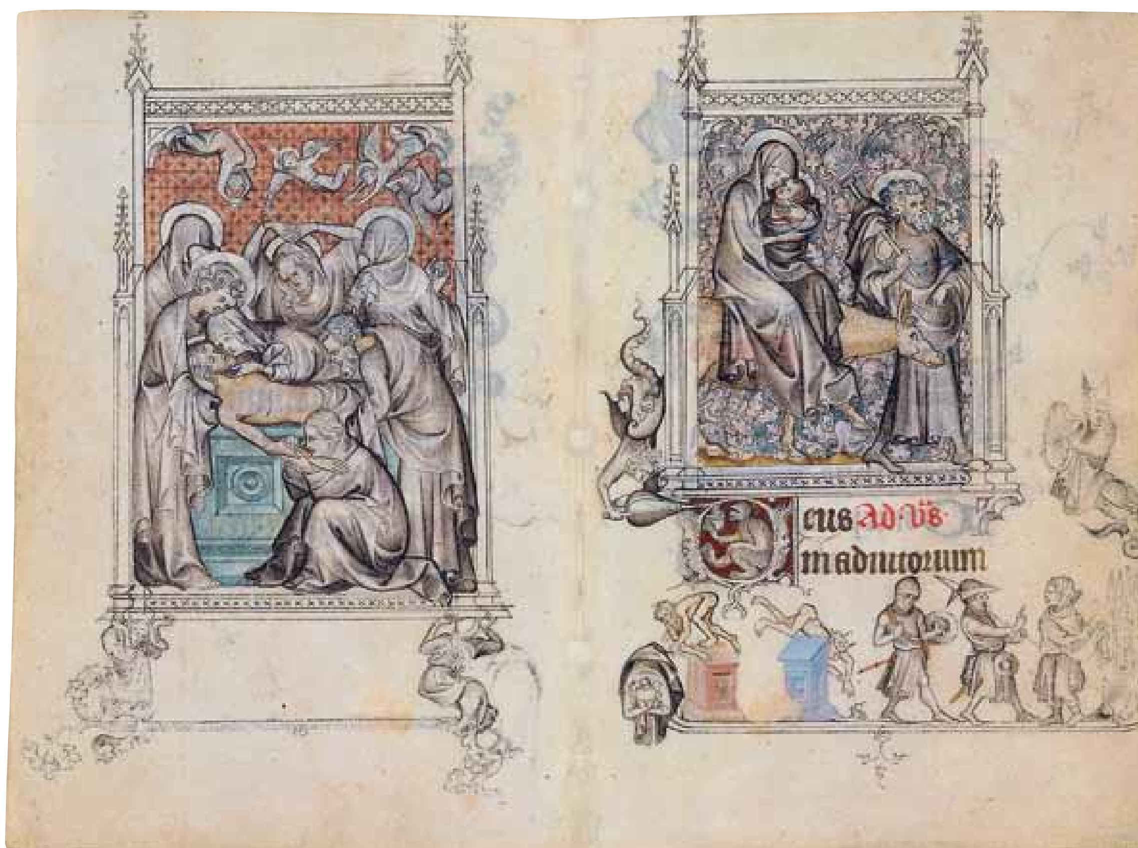
Grisaille was adopted for figures in a number of manuscripts that postdate the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux,* in particular in manuscripts associated with Pucelle's workshop. The *Breviary of Jeanne d'Evreux,* one volume of which is known today, provides corollary evidence of the queen's taste for grisaille figures set against a patterned, richly colored ground.[5] Finding a rationale for the use of grisaille in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* has proved elusive. Michaela Krieger has observed that the artistic effects of grisaille do not depend on the imitation of a single medium but, rather, simultaneously emphasize accomplished draftsmanship, emulate the three-dimensionality of sculpture, and evoke goldsmithwork. Thus she posits that in employing grisaille the artist's intent was to signify costliness by allusions to other, costly media.[6] She believes that this metaphor was so well recognized that in manuscripts created after the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* it was no longer necessary to quote other genres such as sculpture, goldsmithwork, or monumental painting to convey the sense of supreme luxury.[7] In this way, the artist's work, rather than the material, comes to convey value.

There is no question that grisaille enjoyed a certain vogue in manuscript illumination of the fourteenth century in Paris. Among surviving examples, there are a number created for royal or other prominent patrons, including the *Bible moralisée of Jean le Bon* and the *Missal for the Use of Saint-Denis*. If grisaille is equated with costliness, as Krieger theorizes, its choice for a royal manuscript is easily explained. There is no documentation to refute this reading of the significance of grisaille; neither, however, is there any to confirm it. What remains remarkable in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* is the adoption of a technique that lends a remarkable homogeneity of appearance and quality to text, drolleries, and miniatures. BDB

1. The term "grisaille" was first adopted in the seventeenth century, as was the French term "peinture en camaïeu." See Krieger 1995, p. 4.
2. For a full discussion of Pucelle's technique, see Abigail Quandt, "Technical Aspects of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux," in Boehm et al. 2000, pp. 119–93, as well as the earlier discussion in Krieger 1995, p. 30.
3. See Paris 1998, p. 260, cat. no. 181 (entry by François Avril); Krieger 1995, p. 37.
4. Grisaille in stained glass might also be considered, though it seems difficult to argue that it shares a common aesthetic or that its choice was similarly motivated, at least for the first half of the fourteenth century. See Lafond 1943, pp. 56–57.
5. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 51, ex 1887.
6. Krieger 1995, p. 157.
7. Ibid., p. 182.



Bifolio: fol. 142v, Saint Louis feeding the sick; fol. 149r, drolleries



Fols. 82v–83r, Lamentation; Flight into Egypt

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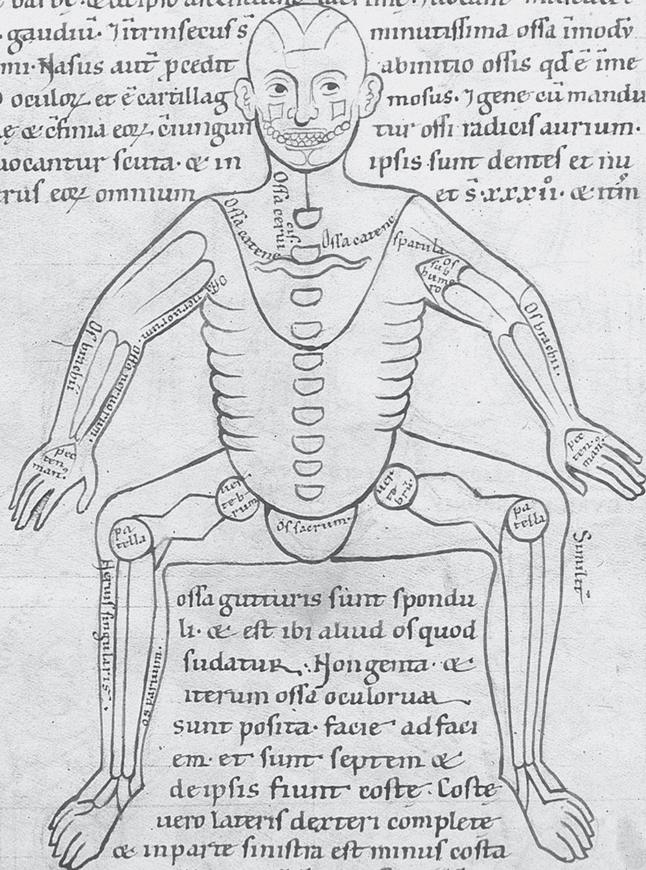
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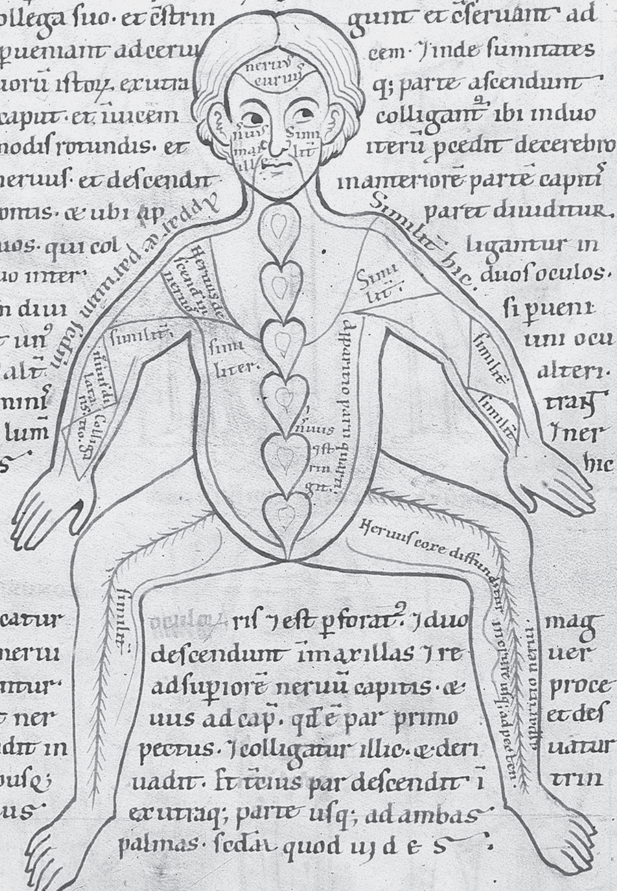
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Hec sunt hystorie diuisoru abinuice sedm que instrurit ea faber & plasmator eoru indiuiditq; ea nerui. 7 caro et nerui cstringunt unu alteru. 7 initiu hoy ossiu e cassisti. et e positio ei rotunda. subqua cerebru habitat. 7 pq os decurrit medulla ispondulo nerui et colligant iuice cu illo. et eum osse barbe & deipso ascendunt lacrime. 7 uocant musculi eoy. gaudiu. 7 itrinsecus s minutissima ossa imodu sisami. Nasus aut pcedit abinitio ossis qd e ime dio oculoy. et e cartillag mosus. 7 gene cu mandubule & cinia eoy. cniungunt tur ossi radicis aurium. & uocantur scuta. & in ipsis sunt dentes et nu merus eoy omnium et s xxxii. & ittn



ossa gutturis sunt spondu li. & est ibi aliud os quod sudatur. 7 hongenta. & iterum ossa oculorum sunt posita. facie ad faciem. et sunt septem & deipsis fiunt coste. Coste uero lateris dexteri complete & in parte sinistra est minus costa una in masculo. 7 i femina s cplete. Reliq s hystorie

Hec e hystoria neruoru qui s ligamina corpori et ossiu & uenaru et lacertoru qui icorpore s. sic condidit et plasmauit ea sapientissimus dns. Principio pcedunt duo magni nerui pmedulla spondulo y qui retro s. et cooperiunt eos cu collega suo. et cstringunt et cseruant ad nec pueniant adeeru cem. 7 inde sumitates neruoru istoy. exutra q; parte ascendunt sup caput. et iuicem colligant ibi induo bus modis rotundis. et iteru pcedit decerebro in anteriore parte capiti. uni neruus. et descendit et frontas. & ubi ap paret diuiditur. in duos. qui col ligantur in medio inter duos oculos. 7 itm diui si peruenit unt un uni oculo 7 alt alteri. et mini trans illi lum 7 nerhic uus



uocatur mag ni neru uer tuntur proce dit ner et des cendit in uatur quouse trin secus ris. 7 est pforat. 7 duo descendunt i maxillas 7 re adsupiore neruu capitis. & uus ad cap. qd e par primo pectus. 7 colligatur illic. & deriuadit. Et teius par descendit i exutraq; parte usq; ad ambas palmas. sedm quod ui d e s.

Hec e hystoria lacertoy. qs fec dns ut uacuu repleat. 7 ciungat qd sepatu e. 7 s tb modis. 7 uno modo ut caro. alia neq; ut caro neq; ut cib s; mediu. Tertius dissimilis a pmo & asedo. et uocat musculus. 7 pipsu pot moueri corpus et u tere motione. sedm uoluntate. 7 pncipiu eoy i maxilla 7 adiuuant os 7 la bia ut apiant. 7 i omni motione oris fiunt. pfundi. 7 itm duo pare musculi s. 7 adiuuat os ut apiat & deglutiat. 7 i ponat et deponat spm. 7 duo hoy s subarteriis gutturis. et adiuuant eu ice omni motione sua. 7 hii ipectore s deorsu s ro tundi. 7 sursu aeutti. 7 in uice ciunc ti. et con iungunt iuice inutq; parte



ceruice. 7 ite ru hii q iuentre s addeorc tione cibo y collimitat hi cu im q s ipectore inerigen do et decli et digestione & adiuuant nibus sunt adiu nando. et iterum hii qui ima 7 hii q s incoris uant ea inomni motione sua ea in et cruribus et talo. adiuuant omni motione sua.

Mense Januario repontico. Mense febr agrimonia. et apii sem. Mense martio. ruta 7 leuistico. Mense aprili. betonica 7 pibinella. Mense maio. absinthiu 7 femculi sem. Mense iunio. saluie flores 7 sauina. Mense Julio flores deapio 7 iuua. Mense august puleiu. Mense septebri costo 7 granumastice. Mense octob gariofolo et piper. Mense nouemb cinamo. Mense decembri spico. Mense maio gamandrea ad humore frangendu. Mense iunio. bislingua. apiu. pip. ad colerari stringendu ul solutione faciend. Mse Julio. cardone cu qnq; granis pipi. Mse augusto. saluia puleiu actione cu pip. Mense septebri betonica cu pip. Mense octob. sauina cu sale. Mse nouemb 7 decebri. ysopo et satureia pstomacho. Mense Ian 7 februario. sarmina cu sale. Mense mar: puleio o adstomachu calefaciendu. Mense apli ieiun punum qnq; die morato bibat. Posta inipso anno insebre n timet cadere. Mense mar. Puleiu bibat dulcia utat 7 radices cfectas aspario usitet sanguine n minuat nec solutione accipiat qa ipsa solutio frigora generat. Mense apli sanguine minuere solutione accipe recentes carnes n manduca sanguine intcutaneu minuere. calidu utere. stomachu purgare. ungentu calaticu utere. si sic fuit oma mbra sanant. Mense maio calidu bibat. calidu usitet cap purget. qa calidu icalore precordi ponit. Vena capitis incidi licet. 7 uena epatica solutione bibere. prurigine mundare. urina purgare. cibu frigidare. M. iunio. cottidie ieiun calice deaqua bibat cerusia bibat. nbusca luctucas edat. & calid bibat. M. Iulio.

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